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## DOMINICA TO GET VENEZUELAN AID IN VARIOUS AREAS

FL312121 Bridgetown CANA in English 2118 GMT 31 Aug 81

[By Peter Richards]

[Text] Roseau, Dominica, 31 Aug (CANA)--Venezuela has promised to assist Dominica in a number of areas including agriculture and the construction of two primary schools, Dominicas Communications, Works and Tourism Minister Henry Dyer said today. Mr Dyer led a high-level delegation to the South American country for discussions on funding for projects in Dominica and technical assistance.

My Dyer told a news conference today that the two countries would soon sign an agreement on a 500,000 (U.S.) dollar soft-term loan to be used on projects approved by the Venezuelan Government. Mr Dyer said the delegation presented a number of projects to the Venezuelans which they could finance on a soft-term loan basis. The projects would cost about 12.8 million dollars (U.S.), he added. The delegation had been told that "most of the projects could qualify for assistance under the Venezuelan investment fund but require a little more detail."

Mr Dyer said that there was a strong possibility that Venezuela would help reconstruct a portion of a road linking the villages of Loubiere and Scotshead on the southern part of the island. In this regard, an engineer would be arriving here within the next 2 weeks to assess the projects, the minister added.

Mr Dyer said that the Venezuelans had agreed to construct two elementary schools in the rural areas and provide scholarships for Dominicans in the fields of agriculture, sports, education and medicine. There would also be attachments by Dominica's tourism officials to Venezuela. The Venezuelan Government has also agreed to host a "tourism awareness seminar" to include delegates from the Caribbean region. The seminar would be held in Dominica at a date to be announced.

When the delegation left here, government said that it would be discussing the funding of an international airport. Mr Dyer said that there was a strong possibility of Venezuela providing assistance in this area.

The minister said that under the friendship and cooperation treaty with Venezuela, Dominica had decided to allow the Venezuelans to erect a bust of their national hero Simon Bolivar at the old mill art center, participate in an exchange of students and have radio time to help Dominicans understand Spanish.

CSO: 3025/1028

## BRIEFS

MORE SENATE REPRESENTATION BY DLP--Bridgetown, Barbados, 30 Aug (CANA)--The Democratic Labor Party (DLP)--official opposition in the Barbados parliament--said tonight it would welcome additional representation in the senate offered by government, but not at the taxpayer's expense. A resolution to this effect was among those passed at the DLP's annual delegates conference--the first since the party's second consecutive defeat at the polls in last June's general election. There are two opposition members in the 21 member senate, of the other senators, 12 are nominated by the ruling party and the other 7 are appointed by the governor general. DLP spokesman Peter Morgan told CANA tonight that the DLP's position was that if there were to be any more opposition senators "this must reflect a reduction in government senators or in the nominees of the governor general, who are in any event appointed on the advice of the prime minister. We would not agree to have more opposition senators if this meant increasing the numbers in the senate, because this would mean an additional financial burden on the taxpayers," the former Barbados tourism minister said. [Excerpt] [FL311837 Bridgetown CANA in English 2316 GMT 30 Aug 81]

CSO: 3025/1028

## BACKGROUND, FUNCTION OF PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN CARLOS ATILA DESCRIBED

Rio de Janeiro MANCHETE in Portuguese 15 Aug 81 pp 116-117

[Report by Alexandre Garcia: "Carlos Atila, the Planalto Spokesman"]

[Text] Suddenly the highly informed private secretary of the president, Heitor Ferreira, stopped talking to newsmen. Deprived of that precious source, which helped them to better understand the facts, they began to engage in the most complex speculation to explain Heitor's silence.

But there is a simple reason for Heitor Ferreira's silence: he stopped talking to newsmen in order to centralize the source of information from the Presidency of the Republic in the new secretary of press and publication, Carlos Atila Alvares da Silva. A diplomat and native of Minas Gerais (from Nova Lima), 43 years of age, Carlos Atila started dealing with the press under then press secretary Rubem Ludwig. His awareness of the role of the press was summarized in a sentence voiced this Monday at a War College (ESG) lecture: "It is not coincidental that the democratic system began to emerge after Gutenberg's invention."

Carlos Atila entered the Rio Branco Institute in 1959 at 21 years of age, when he was pursuing the third year of law at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. He remained in Rio until 1965, working in the administrative and economic departments of the Foreign Ministry. In Brasilia, he was an administrative officer in the office of Foreign Minister Affonso Arinos and later in that of Hermes Lima. After that, he worked in the Trade Policy Division and in the Basic Products Division. He was married in 1964 to Dona Tania, with whom he had a couple of children.

In 1965, he went to serve in the economic section of the embassy in Buenos Aires, where he remained for 3 years. In the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) in Montevideo, he began to put into practice his study of logic and debating, since the association is a forum for debate and negotiation. He remained there until December 1970, keeping abreast of the Consul Gomide kidnaping episode. When Foreign Minister Gibson Barbosa decided to lend an impetus to the Trade Promotion Department, Ambassador Paulo Tarso Flexa de Lima summoned Carlos Atila to head the Programs Division.

In February 1974, attracted by a salary six times higher, he requested a leave of absence and left to organize the foreign trade company of the Public Savings Bank in Bahia. Although he was appointed superintendent of the new company, his liking for diplomacy caused him to return to the Foreign Ministry where he became coordinator of the Cabo Frio Foundation.



When he was preparing President Geisel's trips to Mexico, Uruguay and Germany, the then press secretary, Colonel Toledo Camargo, asked the Foreign Ministry for a diplomat to help him in that task. In response to the verbal sketch provided by Colonel Carmargo, Foreign Minister Azeredo de Silveira named Carlos Atila for the mission. It was a revelation, including to the reporters who, like myself, covered those trips. Carlos Atila excelled in organizing press rooms, telex and telephone areas for the transmission of texts and photos. Everything worked to perfection. On his return to Brazil, Camargo praised him highly before the reporters, who applauded that discrete diplomat who had supported the work of the press in a highly professional manner. He was ready to return to the Foreign Ministry when Colonel Camargo summoned him, advising him that he, Camargo, had named him to work as the assistant to Colonel Ludwig, who would shortly assume the Press and Public Relations Office.

Reluctant to accept, Atila sought out Ludwig:

"I do not know you and you do not know me. Excuse my boldness but in order to work with you, I would like to know what you intend to do."

"We are going to do what our conscience dictates," replied Rubem Ludwig. And Atila accepted.

"It was an extraordinarily enriching period, because the man is an incredible personality," recalls Carlos Atila. In the Rubem Ludwig period, which we reporters usually remember as a model, a system created by Colonel Camargo was perfected and consolidated. Information flowed; the discussion of ideas flourished; Colonel Ludwig sparkled. And Atila went on enriching his apprenticeship in the relationship with the press and the technique of mass communication.

In the Figueiredo administration, Atila remained in the position of assistant a little more than 3 months. He was invited by Ambassador Nascimento e Silva to head the Trade Promotion Section of the embassy in Paris. In November of the following year, he was in Brasilia, accompanying a mission of French Businessmen when he heard on television of the departure of Portella and the appointment of Rubem Ludwig to the Ministry of Education. Shortly afterward, he received a telephone call from the new minister. "Come here to my apartment, I need to talk to you. Atila went to dinner and arrived at Ludwig's home around 2300 hours.

Ludwig Asked Him To Be His Office Chief

"You are going to be my office chief," Ludwig advised him. Atila was perplexed. "You have no choice," insisted the minister.

At 0830 hours the following day, while Ludwig assumed the teacher crisis even before he assumed the ministry, Atila drafted the minister's acceptance speech. And only a month later, after the teachers strike had been resolved, was Atila able to return to Paris, to get his family and make the move. But he did not remain in ministry very long. During that period, the Secretariat of Mass Communications (SECOM) was abolished.

In the first week of February, Minister Ludwig was summoned to the Planalto Palace for the first time. He left pleased because he thought he was going to receive the

additional funds he had requested. He returned furious because he had just lost his office chief. The Presidency of the Republic had notified him that it would need Carlos Atila to be its spokesman.

"The decision is yours," concluded Ludwig after relating the conversation to Carlos Atila.

"I was fascinated with the new job in the Ministry of Education. So much to be done. Then I told Ludwig: I believe that your administration is historic. I prefer to stay. My commitment is to you."

Three days later, Ludwig called Atila: "I do not want to be selfish, holding you here. I believe it is a good opportunity for your career. You are free to decide."

Figueiredo traveled to Paris and Lisbon and on his return, Carlos Atila received the invitation in the tone of a summons: "You cannot refuse." He ended up accepting. Ludwig took him to Minister Golbery, who asked him to think in terms "of a light structure, as in Ludwig's time." Atila spent the carnival period thinking about the matter. The name he suggested was the one adopted: Secretariat of Press and Publication.

"So I told Minister Golbery: It has to be like in Ludwig's time, I believe I am going to pester you a lot," Atila recalls. In his opinion, it is not the function of the president to provide daily information to the spokesman. "The job of getting information for the press is mine. It is I who needs to get the information for the press is mine. It is I who needs to get the information wherever it may be. And my own opinions are not of interest but those of the government as a whole."

At the second meeting with Golbery, the minister advised him: "Keep calm."

"I have always been calm," replied Atila. "What I am is worried." Later, Golbery took him to the president.

"I like the press people very much," began Figueiredo, "but I know that it is a difficult task."

Carlos Atila then sought to reconstruct the political events that had occurred during the time he had been absent from the country. "It was another Brazil I found when I returned: amnesty, multiparty system, return of the exiles. I had to read a lot. Heitor Ferreira helped me a lot, just as I was helped by talks with reporters."

In fact, the beginning was not easy. "I have already criticized him very much. To his face personally and in the newspaper," said reporter Aloysio Carvalho. "I do not take it back because I think my criticism was correct. But today I have changed my opinion because he has developed. He has a correct idea of his function. He is honest in his information. He is educated and has the background of what he talks about, and he has the potential to become even better. He is working very well and he does not deceive anyone in his correct way of operating."

In the opinion of reporter Joao Firmino Penna, one of those accredited the longest to the Planalto Palace, "Atila is good because he follows the example of Ludwig."

He does not evade, does not refuse to discuss. He says what he knows. If he does not know, he seeks to inform himself." Reporter Emerson Souza considers Atila "competent but he does not have aides on his level. I wish he were closer to the president. He is not afraid to expose himself. He takes on any discussion. And above all, he has never said: 'That is up to the president.'" Radio reporter Mario Nelson, on the other hand, believes that the radio reporters "have been misunderstood throughout the various Press Secretariat administrations because they are regulated in relation to their press and television colleagues. But." But he does not make any restriction for Carlos Atila. "I wish he were bolder in his responses but he is a diplomat by training. I admit that he had already faced tough encounters and has acquitted himself well, because he is a man of dialog."

The chairman of the press committee, photographer Adao do Nascimento, considers Carlos Atila an "intelligent, capable man but perhaps if he were not from the Foreign Ministry he would be looser." He said that he has shown "great interest in helping the photographers and he has received all of our suggestions well, including that of our accompanying the president during the election campaign. He is going to install everything we have asked for in the new press room. He is easy to talk to and he receives us at any time, whether it be a reporter or photographer. He left us with great expectations because of what he did when he worked with Ludwig."

#### He Noted That the Foreign Ministry Is Much Better Equipped

When he began his job in March of this year, Carlos Atila noted that the Foreign Ministry is much better equipped to respond to questions about foreign policy. So he agreed with Foreign Minister Saraiva Guerreiro and spokesman Bernardo Pericas to a division of labor: questions about foreign policy would be answered by the Foreign Ministry. Another measure adopted at once was to open his office doors to reporters at any time. They do not even go through his secretary. The only restriction is when Atila is talking to another reporter: the exclusiveness of the information, when the initiative was on the part of the reporter, is preserved.

The day of the man who speaks for the Presidency of the Republic begins at 0700 hours, when the radio-alarm clock at the head of his bed sounds out with the morning news report. In order not to get the news with the same editorial line all the time, he listens to a different radio station every day.

Even before breakfast, he receives the Brazilian News Agency (EBN) summary, which he reads and marks on the way to the palace. At 0815 hours at the latest, he is already in the palace, reading the newspapers. Then he goes up to the office of Minister Golbery. In the decree creating the Secretariat of Press and Publication, Carlos Atila was given the privileges of deputy chief of the Civilian Household.

In Golbery's office, he attends the minister's meeting with his aides and thus keeps abreast of what is being done. Somewhere along the line, Golbery will ask him: "What is going on?"

Atila opens up a red-covered book where he notes all of the questions of day after having followed TV the previous evening, listened to the radio news reports and read the newspapers. Together, he and Golbery go up to the third floor to receive the president at 0900 hours. There, Atila meets the ministers-chiefs of the Military

Household, General Venturini; of the National Intelligence Service (SNI), General Medeiros, and of the Planning Secretariat, Delfim Netto. Many times the final questions are answered on that occasions; however, on various occasions, the president is awaited for the final word.

Carlos Atila may enter the president's office several times a day, between one audience and another, if necessary. But he leaves that for the final recourse because he believes that before pestering Figueiredo, he can resort to the ministers in each area. "I reflect a government position; I cannot fail to be precise in my information. The president is accessible, you know, but I cannot be interrupting his work all the time."

In the morning, Carlos Atila also talks to the private secretary, Heitor Ferreira, and to special advisor Paiva Chaves. He spends the rest of the time receiving reporters, reading and dealing with internal matters of the secretariat.

After lunch, work begins in the office of Minister Golbery, with whom Atila goes to talk about new matters, the most recent questions of the reporters. He also makes further contacts with the "house" ministers and the other ministers to prepare for the daily press meeting, between 1500 and 1600 hours. "If new questions come up for which I do not have any answer, I again seek information because I cannot nor do I pretend to be omniscient. That is very dynamic; events develop very rapidly." Then the rest of the afternoon, he is at the disposal of the reporters in his office, where there is a continuous coming and going.

"Only the national interest can be the limit for providing information," argues Atila, citing the current example of Project Jari. "Negotiations are going well, but I cannot now reveal what is happening in order to safeguard the national interest. And the press has understood that very well."

In his opinion, "the press is the guardian of its own freedom: the good press must overcome the bad. And when I call it bad, I do not refer to the press that attacks the government. I refer to the one that distorts facts, that gives half-truths, that does not make impartial investigation, that ignores ethics."

That is Carlos Atila, the man who speaks for the president at this historic moment through which the institutions of the republic are passing. A man who studied logic and debating; who learned how to be press secretary with Rubem Ludwig; and who mixed with that his integrity and education and the qualities of a diplomat and a "Mineiro" [man from Minas Gerais].

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CSO: 3001/227



## JUSTICE MINISTER TO PERFORM POLITICAL FUNCTIONS

PY030336 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 28 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] Brasilia—Justice Minister Ibrahim Abi-Ackel has started to personally coordinate political activities both in congress and in the states as part of a reorganization implemented by presidential civilian household chief Leitao de Abreu.

The above functions, which had been exercised by Gen Golbery do Couto e Silva concurrently with his administrative duties and his role as the president's chief adviser, were specifically outlined at a long meeting held on Wednesday by Leitao de Abreu and Abi-Ackel. The two ministers agreed to have Abi-Ackel conduct political matters while Leitao de Abreu will act as a sort of a higher authority.

The justice minister will then meet with congressmen and governors to discuss with them those problems of an eminently political nature, a task in which Leitao de Abreu does not want to get involved because it is not in keeping with his personal style. Unlike his predecessor, the new presidential civilian household chief will coordinate ministerial activities to be able to provide the president with better counsel.

Thus Leitao de Abreu chose to entrust to a professional politician, who is better familiarized with political activities, those functions which Gen Golbery do Couto seemed to have exercised with so much dedication.

The justice minister will thus be the man who from now on will have to solve political problems in the states, listen to the demands of congressmen and coordinate the approval of bills in congress. Leitao de Abreu will only intervene in disputes and his task will be that of coordinating the functions of all ministers and the overall governmental policy in addition to his duties as the chief adviser of and the closest aide of the president.

CSO: 3001/243

## ISOLATION, ROLE OF MILITARY IN LIBERALIZATION ANALYZED

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 2 Aug 81 Special Supplement pp 1-2

[Joao Rodolfo do Prado interview with sociologist Professor Alexandre de Barros]

[Text] The development of the political liberalization will soon stop short at a crucial point: what is the role of the military as a professional group in Brazilian democratic society? To respond to this question is an urgent problem for the civilian and military elite, asserts Professor Alexandre de Barros, 38 years of age, and author of a detailed (and unprecedented) study on the Brazilian military.

In his opinion, the pure and simple return to the barracks is impossible because the military have always had an intensive participation in practically all aspects of Brazilian life (notable exceptions: diplomacy and economy). Then the civilians ended up convincing them that they are the great moderating force by virtue of many invitations for them to turn the tables in favor of those who were in the opposition.

This concern of Prof Alexandre de Barros of the IUPERJ is based on the study on the military, practically unknown to the civilian elite. According to him, the military live in isolation, marked by a specific training, distant to the point of a retired general frightening actress Dina Sfat during an interview on the Canal Livre television program.

"The Brazilian Military: Professional Socialization; Political Performance and the Building of the State" is the title of the thesis that Alexandre de Barros, who majored in political sociology in the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-RJ) prepared for the University of Chicago, which won him honorable mention for the Harold Lasswell Prize for works on sociology of the military, in the Interuniversity Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, in the United States.

Alexandre de Barros worked at the University of Brasilia in 1971 and 1972; for 2 years he was an aide at the War College (ESG) at the invitation of General Bina Machado--which enabled him to associate closely with the military--and in 1975 he returned to the United States to write the thesis that is currently being translated into Portuguese and will be published by the Graal Publishing Company. This interview reflects his basic points.

[Question] What is the basis for your study?

[Answer] The basic fact is the following: I believe that the military man is an unknown in Brazilian society, whether from the quasi-individual point of view-- because people do not know the military man, they do not deal with the military man-- whether from the point of view of social science. There is little literature on this. There are many impressionistic things that mention the military man in passing, as a type of political actor; but, specifically, no; not, for example, like the working or slum class, that is, it is a group about which everybody expresses an opinion but in reality nobody knows nothing about in a systematic manner.

In a part of my thesis, I took the process of the professional socialization of the military and related how it was; I dissected that process. Because my idea is that what the military do or do not do politically is not the result of social origin, or is not much the result of social origin. Because there is that idea that "because the general is the son of a plantation owner, he is going to defend the plantation owners; or the general is the son of a factory worker, so he is going to defend the factory workers." That is not so.

[Question] But is not the military man a typical product of the middle class?

[Answer] I do not believe he represents the middle class. I believe that the interests of the military often coincide with those of the middle class. But I do not believe that the military man is representative of the middle class; even though that rhetoric is used; that is, that is said outside the military: "The military represent the middle class." Frequently there are statements by military men that "we represent the middle class."

But I believe that the middle class is used in this way: virtue lies in the middle; therefore, if I represent the middle, I am all right. I believe that is much more an idea that became common through use and became a truism, rather than the result of analysis. Because I believe that an important characteristic of the military is isolation. If the military are not known, it is in part because they are isolated as a social group. And in fact, they also do not know much. That is where I got into the professional socialization and characteristics of the profession, which are very peculiar.

The first thing is that the military man is very mobile. During his professional life, he has to move often: he serves in Rio Grande do Sul, he serves in Ceara, in Rio, he goes to Brasilia. That is something that complicates the social relationships of the military: it is difficult to maintain a stable social relationship with a very mobile person. It is perhaps the most mobile profession in Brazil. So what happens? The military tend to concentrate their relationships among themselves.

Another fact is that the profession, therefore, needs to provide its members with an appropriate, agreeable infrastructure. Wherever the military man arrives, he has, for example, a garrison, the military installation, if the city is small. Or he has a home. It is there more or less ready for him. In general, he has the Military Circle, has a club, a place where he fits in. And he has a fantastic thing that nobody has in Brazil, namely, the Army Library. You pay so much and wherever you may be you receive a book every month.

So the military establishment has a number of mechanisms stemming from professional needs, which favor isolation. He gets to socialize very much with his group; that is a characteristic.

[Question] That is why people generally only get on with a retired military man....

[Answer] That is because this is the time when the military man stays in one place. Well, that also causes the military man to hold a position I consider to be very important and interesting: the military man lives parallel to the market in the economic sense. Like the civil servant and the priest, within limits. Those are careers you enter and find a definite plan. You rise by merit or seniority, or else by a combination of the two, and at a given time you retire. So there is not a series of market competitions. There is internal competition within the profession, in the courses, who is going to gain first place, who is not--but there is no market determination.

So, for example, the military man finds his home waiting for him in the garrison. In larger cities, it is a little different but he has the option of whether or not to enter the market. And there is another characteristic: he cannot change profession, cannot change employer and remain in the same profession. He does not have the option of saying: "I do not want to serve in this army and I am going to serve in another." Since we do not live in mercenary armies, he cannot do that. Once he enters, it is a choice for his whole life, if he wants to remain in the profession.

[Question] But he can be an engineer, doctor....

[Answer] Well, yes, but there you have two things: the military profession and the engineering profession, which is a little different. If he wants to remain a professional soldier, even though an engineer soldier, he cannot leave there. If he leaves, he is going to change his profession: he is going to be a private doctor or an administrator. But he cannot remain as a military man outside of there or change employer.

Another thing that contributes to the isolation of the military man is the question of salary. The military man is not well paid. Someone may say: "But colonel so-and-so, who is in such-and-such a position, is well paid." That is not the point. The military as a group are not well paid. And that is a very sensitive topic in Brazil because it was always much exploited politically. So, frequently, when someone wants to raise some point, he brings up "the question of the military: the military should be paid more." So it is a somewhat untouchable thing.

But the problem is, as a group, the military are not well paid if compared to groups of equivalent age and education. This makes social relations even more complicated. If you take a major and an economist, both the same age, you can assume that they have similar education, have everything to relate to one another, to be neighbors or to meet socially, but what happens? Since there is a difference of salary and the problem of mobility, it becomes difficult for the military man to be able to reciprocate in a number of things. It becomes complicated for him. This results in contributing toward the military concentrating their relationships even more among themselves.



[Question] Stereotypically, one goes to Ipanema, the other to Tijuca....

[Answer] Obviously. Because you have a pattern...that is, one part may be the taste, but there is another part that is life: the pattern of leisure determined by income. The same way that, for example, the military man goes frequently to the military club, which is cheap, good and is there waiting for him. Considering his mobility, he cannot join a club in Rio and pay the monthly dues during the years he is away. But the military, naval and air clubs are everywhere. The military club is in Rio, but there is the Military Circle.

All that generates another characteristic, which is a tendency toward intermarriage. The families go to the club, the boys and girls meet, court. They are probably children of other military men or perhaps cadets. A very common pattern of marriage among the military is that of cadets (not necessarily the children of military families) with the daughters of officers; the young lieutenants, who have recently graduated from the academy, who go to the interior and end up marrying the daughters of the lieutenant colonel, the major. It is natural for this to occur.

There is also the fact--less so today--that the military man is an excellent catch in the interior. I heard from various officers in interviews that the arrival in the interior causes quite a stir. The lieutenant is a good catch because he is an honorable person, belongs to a stable profession; from the viewpoint of a local father of the family, it would be good for his daughter to marry him. And there is even a certain ritual of organization in the small cities--or there was, according to the description in those interviews--upon the arrival of the new officers. You see that in the memoirs of military men. Now that occurs often within the Military Circle itself.

And another important characteristic that I see in the military is a matter of training. It is one of the formally most trained professions; trained and retrained. Generally, in careers or professions people are educated for the rest of their lives and are under no obligation to study any more. They can get masters or doctoral degrees but that is not a professional obligation.

Among the military, it is. When he is a lieutenant, he takes a specialization course. As a captain, he takes another course, that of the Officer Post-Graduate School. When he becomes a major or lieutenant colonel, he takes a course in the Command and General Staff School, which is essential to become a general in addition to other courses that he may take. But these three at least are obligatory.

Obviously, in each of these courses, he does not only learn the technical content. The service also transmits values to him. He is updated in the values of the service. So that causes the military to comprise one of the most homogeneous groups in Brazilian society, unlike the civilian elite, for example, which is extraordinarily heterogeneous. The latter has people who came from here and there and studied at this or that place...

One of the things that the military profession does is that it says (figuratively): "Look, once you cross the threshold of the military academy, you leave the other things outside and you are going to be a military man." Because it does not go well in the military profession for you to bring prestige from the outside, family

name, that sort of thing. The idea is that at that moment everybody begins equal. It is an institution that cultivates equality, of starting equal, although it may be a highly competitive institution internally.

The people are always placed in classifications, rankings. He received such and such a grade in his course, first place, second.... The cult of being first in the class is something that is always mentioned when one talks about the military. It is a very important biographical fact. But the institution guarantees at the beginning: "Now you are all equal; you are going to compete under equal conditions."

[Question] Thus every minister, every president is first in the class?

[Answer] Because it is a very important thing. Because there is also something: that greatly determines his place, his progress in his career. You have the opportunity to progress by merit or by seniority. If it is by merit that is a combination of things, the appraisal of one's colleagues, the appraisal of one's superiors, in short, medals...; what may be termed a professional curriculum. Now a very important part in the curriculum is the ranking in courses. There is also, for example, the lowest rankings in the courses, and it is determined that those people are not going to progress in their career, are not going to advance, or are going to advance very slowly.

[Question] That is, the military manage to establish a clear and direct relationship between knowledge and power?

[Answer] That's right. If you study, if you do well and are ranked in first place, your probability of progressing more in your career is very high. Someone may say: "Yes, but when the time for promotion to general comes, the criterion is political." It is political yes, up to a certain point. But let us put it this way: the supply, the group of colonels who are presented for promotion to general -- when there is a margin of political, presidential, choice--represents the personnel who are capable, in terms of knowledge. There is no possibility, for example, of getting someone who is not knowledgeable and saying: "Look, it can be done." You do not have any arbitrary choice.

[Question] That means that the myth that power is dumb does not operate?

[Answer] Not at all. You can say the following: the criteria of profession X, in profession Y and in the military profession are different. The military man may not know anything about a number of things but he knows what he deals with.

[Question] What he is supposed to know, he knows well.

[Answer] Necessarily. If he attained a certain position, he knows it well. You may say: military knowledge is rigid; that it is not very flexible for a number of things. You can say that military knowledge does not gibe with politics. Those are statements that can be debated, that have some basis of truth. The only thing you cannot say is: the military do not know anything.

There is a fact, a key word of the military called doctrine. That is not the Brazilian military, it is all the professional military. Doctrine is a very important

matter for the military, it is a routine and common way of doing things. In reality, outside of the highest positions, the military man is a person who spends 80 percent of his time teaching or being taught. He has a didactic, instructional, pedagogic task. He goes there and teaches the soldier to use weapons, to perform military service; or he is taking course.

And since military education needs to transmit a very large number of ideas in a very short time, those doctrines are established. You have a way to handle the 45-caliber pistol, to handle the Ina machinegun. In the same manner, you have a way to deal with the problems of the world.

And the idea that runs parallel with doctrine--and I am speaking here from the intellectual point of view--is the idea of discipline. You have doctrine so follow the doctrine. If you do not do it that way, you are undisciplined.

For example, what is a hero from the military point of view? He is a successful undisciplined person. In the extreme situation, which is a situation of war, of battle, the hero is the one who does not follow doctrine. Doctrine says: "The platoon advances this way, crawling and waits,..." Suddenly in that platoon there is a fellow who gets up, runs out, throws a hand-grenade and destroys an enemy machinegun nest. From the strict point of view, he is undisciplined. And the battle itself is going to determine whether he is going to be a hero or an undisciplined person. If his breach of discipline does not work out, he will be wounded or killed. If it works, he becomes a hero and wins a medal.

[Question] It is as if the only way to permit a breach of discipline is to make it transcendental, heroic....

[Answer] That's right. And that is a possible mechanism of military innovation: A person suddenly does something and it works out, such as a tactic or a strategy, and it may be adopted. There are historical examples of that. I spoke about an individual breach of discipline but it also exists at this level, that of the strategist, of the general.

[Question] The impression is that the world of the military is very static.

[Answer] It is predictable. That is the basic characteristic. It is a profession that in universal terms has a very specific rule for changes. The rate of change is very defined. The question of predictability is important because from the viewpoint of the professional military man, the only tolerable unpredictable situation is war. If the enemy does something you do not foresee, you are smashed.

Another fact for an understanding of the military is that they are a group that by their own definition can determine the limits of their installations, keeping out those who are not members of the profession. All over the world, military installations have a wall with a guard and you cannot enter, except with authorization. There is a study about Turkish military men which regards this as a very important factor: the fact that the Turkish Government decided to isolate Turkish military dissidents in a military college enabled them to conspire at will without anyone outside being able to check it out. Because they said; "No, this is a high-level military school, nobody, nobody [allowed]..."



That process occurred here in the War College (ESG). When General Lott decided to remove all his "enemies" from their commands, those people whom he defined as opponents of the Juscelino Kubitschek government, he began to put a number of those people in the ESG. So those people had time to think, reflect and plan the whole idea for the takeover of power; and not only the takeover of power but of the Brazilian state. General Golbery and General Geisel were there, and a number of others went through there at that time.

Another characteristic I consider important is that the group has a very peculiar mix of provincialism and cosmopolitanism; or of nationalism and internationalism. On the one hand, the military man is a state employee. He is employed by the state, he defends the state, has very strong national values. On the other hand, he is extremely international, in the sense that his reference groups, the groups to which he looks are other military outside the country, whether as enemies or as allies. So he follows the development of their strategy, the weapons, the industry, the military potential, the economic potential.

[Question] In short, the military are similar the world over?

[Answer] That's right, the same way. What happens -- and it was an American colonel who called my attention to this, a student in a course of mine--is that an army that is constantly involved in war, such as the U.S. Army, has much more available machinery for promotion through so-called heroism. If you had a Vietnam, you can have many people who expose themselves to becoming heroes. When the armies have not participated in wars recently, one notes the lack of more defined, more observed rules. It is war that permits you to breach the rules. An army such as the Brazilian Army is, therefore, very professional.

[Question] And how does it view the other side, the world of the civilians?

[Answer] I performed military service; my specialty was that of heavy weapons mechanic; I took a course as a mechanic for mortars, cannons, that type of thing. I was relating that once to a general and he told me: "What an extraordinary thing; you performed military service. The majority of Brazilian intellectuals have not had military service. They evade military service either because they know someone--'peixada' in military lingo--or because they are flatfooted or nearsighted."

So there is that strange fact: not many people in academic life have had any contact with the military at some point in their lives, even as a draftee, as a recruit. So they do not know the military. They are a mystery.

I studied the problem of the training of the military and nonmilitary elite and, for example, that homogeneity of the military. Once I was talking to an officer and he told me: "It is impressive. The academicians manage to sit around a table for 3 days, discuss and not reach any conclusion. When we sit at a table, we reach a decision in an hour because we need to have a policy, a line of action, no matter what it may be." So the problem is that you have given premises, the premises that military socialization provides.

A premise: we all know what the basic doctrine is. We are going to discuss for 1 hour what is the best line of action. Once the line has been determined, a command choice has been made, there is no more discussion. The idea is that military personnel



are prepared for war. And you cannot have the situation in a war of the subordinate saying: I do not think that is the best way to do that; there is another way. That is, the strategy of a battle is discussed within a limited time and the commander makes a decision and goes ahead. He cannot prolong it indefinitely as in parliamentary strategy. Thus the frequent difficulty of the military to understand the strategy of parliamentary obstruction, when a bill is held back and does not move ahead.

Another conclusion of the study of the training of the elite is that the military comprise one of the few groups that have a plan for Brazil. First it is one of the few groups capable of looking at their own history as an institution and projecting a future. In that sense, it is a very continuing institution. For example, there is the role of Caxias, of Osorio....

[Question] Is the role of the institution merged with that of the state?

[Answer] Yes, and it makes it possible to make a projection for the future. Which is something that the civilian elite, for example, do not have. The Brazilian civilian elite are extremely discontinuous. For example, intellectually, the people of today do not in any way feel themselves to be the continuation of the generations of 1930. That is something that counts impressively. And strangely enough, the military and the diplomats are two groups that do that. They look back and say: the Baron [Rio Branco]...the glories of the Itamaraty [Foreign Ministry] And they project for the future.

[Question] And the Church?

[Answer] The Church is macro in time. You say Jesus Christ...But I do not believe that the Brazilian Church has that. On the contrary, it is extremely split in that sense. Nowadays, what you have is a church that has rejected the church of 10 or 15 years ago.

[Question] One detail. In recent history, the diplomats have pursued a policy that constantly seems to contradict what is happening in the other fields....

[Answer] I believe the Foreign Ministry has a policy, or an idea of what is an appropriate Brazilian foreign policy. My theory is as follows: if what the diplomats believe should be the foreign policy coincides with what the central government believes, there is something I call creative foreign policy. If there is no coincidence, then, I believe that the Foreign Ministry does not implement decisions well.

For example, I believe that Janio's independent foreign policy, Geisel's responsible pragmatism and now the policy of Sarney's administration are times when there is extreme coincidence between what the Foreign Ministry and the central government want as a policy. The contrary example is that of the Castello Branco government, when the central government had a rhetoric of automatic alignment.

Regarding the statement attributed to Juracy Magalhães--"What's good for the United States is good for Brazil"--what we can say in anecdotal terms is: the diplomat charged with keeping him from saying anything foolish had gone to the bathroom. That is a time when I believe the Foreign Ministry was not implementing foreign policy well.

[Question] So, are there good relations between the armed forces and the Foreign Ministry?

[Answer] I believe so. They are very similar careers and cases, in the sense of being very similar professions. First, they are professions in which you can only enter from below. You cannot be appointed a colonel or embassy counselor because you have a friend. In short, they are highly hierarchical, structured, disciplined and trained professions. And also isolated, but for different reasons. But there is an aspect in which they are different; the diplomat has the cosmopolitan living that the military man only learns about in books, although he can become an attache or serve an internship or take some course abroad.

So the military man has extreme respect for the diplomat in terms of foreign policy. We were saying that the military consider complicated what can be termed the political disarray, parliamentary debate, obstruction, but that does not happen in the Foreign Ministry. There is a group of professionals who implement foreign policy.

Outside of the economic ministries, the Foreign Ministry is perhaps the only one since 1964 that was always administered by professional diplomats. The only military men in the Foreign Ministry are performing duties they already exercised in the demarcation of frontiers. A matter of technicians, topographers, etc. There are no military men in policy decision positions in the Foreign Ministry, which also enjoys great respect abroad.

But there is a strange, recent fact. I will cite a case: an increasing number of articles and books have been published recently attacking Brazil directly, ascribing imperialist and hegemonic aims to it involving harm to the other countries. In the majority of cases, those statements have not received an appropriate response. The diplomat knows about this, he knows that that is international politics. I believe that the Brazilian military man still becomes offended by it. He still believes that if the Argentines or the Peruvians speak ill of Brazil--or whoever--it is something you should become offended about. But he does not have to become offended, it is a matter of foreign politics.

As for not penetrating into the economic ministries, I believe the reason was different. It has much more to do with the fact that the military man does not understand macroeconomics, which is related to his living parallel to the market. His very living in the economy makes that difficult. It is not an area in which he moves comfortably. In fact, I found various patterns of military participation in the public administration.

One of them is that of national security, strictly defined. There are a number of areas in which you have the military because the matter is defined as security and you have had it historically. Another pattern can be called pioneering, which may or may not be merged with national security. I believe the best example of that is telecommunications. When I was a boy there was this thing about waiting 8 or 10 years for a telephone. At that time, from the perspective of an engineering student, telecommunications did not enter into it, it was an area that did not exist. But there were a number of officers studying because communications are part of professional training. At the time the ownership of the communications companies was decided, the Brazilian Telecommunications Company (EMBRATEL), or the Communications Ministry, was created, what was the available manpower? It was the military.

Oil was somewhat the same. Before the Brazilian Petroleum Corporation (PETROBRAS), for military reasons defined as important, there were groups of military engineers who studied oil refining and drilling abroad. Then when PETROBRAS began, there was that group.

[Question] A technical staff formed by internal needs?

[Answer] Exactly. And, afterwards, they may or may not remain. I believe, for example, that they did in PETROBRAS. I do not know how many retired military men there are in PETROBRAS but, according to reports, there are many. But in telecommunications, for example, the area of nonmilitary personnel seems to be growing very much. I believe that the Federal University of Paraiba probably does not have any reason to create a course on telecommunications engineering but the Aeronautics Technological Institute (ITA) and the Military Engineering Institute (IME) do. And I believe that there are areas dealing with satellites, electronics, data processing with military men in them.

One area of national security, for example, is education. I believe that the presence of the military in that area is by a definition of national security. It was necessary to put things in order, and now it seems that it was to reform the ministry. Another area is the one that can be vaguely defined as administrative.

[Question] And nationalization?

[Answer] In my thesis, it was a transitory issue. There was all that debate about nationalization; whether or not to nationalize. I believe that there is no reason or way to denationalize. The military are advocates of nationalization by definition, by history. I do not see that as being different.

Strictly speaking, the strange fact is that there is a dissociation between the public rhetoric and the private practice of the post-1964 Brazilian governments, even on that subject. If you read the whole mass of speeches, statements, etc. immediately after 1964 and over the years, undeniably it was the salvation of Brazil, the preservation of freedom, of Western values, etc. But as for free enterprise, economic freedom, on that score, when you look at the facts, what was done must since 1964 was to nationalize.

[Question] From the outline you have given, I cannot imagine a capitalist military man....

[Answer] No. I do not believe the military man is anticapitalistic; I believe he is acapitalistic, because of the way he interprets ideas that a businessman would interpret, about profit.... I am speaking about a serious capitalist businessman, not of a capitalist who lives sucking on the government's tits. The idea that the military man finds the idea of profit, of excessive profit, of capitalist profit complicated is present even in the United States. The American military are also like that even though there is a bourgeois, capitalist, hegemonic ideology in the United States. It is a confusing notion for him, he does not know quite well how to deal with it; he is not used to that.



The idea, for example, of military pay, of military wages, is of money that is earned on the basis of work. The idea of people who earn excessive amounts of money without doing anything is a complicated idea.

[Question] Getting back to nationalization....

[Answer] I used some statistics published in the JORNAL DO BRASIL. Of a total of almost 6,000 companies surveyed by Gilberto Paim in 1973, more than 60 percent of the control of the companies belonged to the state. And I believe that that must have increased since that time. Now there is talk about eliminating state control, of establishing private control, but I do not believe in that. I believe that half a dozen things are going to be put under private control but I do not believe that it is going to change. The figure for the establishment of state enterprises is an impressive thing. During the Medici administration, if I am not mistaken, 99 state enterprises were established.

[Question] Is the state enterprise the economic expression of the military organization?

[Answer] That's right. So why are the military going to want to eliminate state control? Furthermore, the measure of success is defined internally. Since many of the companies are monopolistic, or almost so, you can have people like Professor Eugenio Gudim, or Admiral Macedo Soares, who are against state control, saying that they are inefficient. That they are monopolistic because that way everybody makes a profit, and a number of other statements. But it does not matter. The self-definition is that they are efficient.

[Question] And what is the Brazil project of the military?

[Answer] I do not believe there is a plan in anybody's drawer of what Brazil is going to be, but I believe that there is a basic idea: that of the building of the Brazilian National State. Reconstructing it historically, there are 12 tasks in building the national state, which range from establishing sovereignty in a territory, borders, even transferring the loyalties of the population, of particular groups, of the family, of religious groups, to the state; secularization of society, the establishment of bureaucracies, the creation of armies, of an administration, of an educational system. And the ideological organization of that, such as publicizing that in such a way that people will accept the idea of a state. And rationalize that new institution.

For example, as I recall, up to the Castello Branco government, up to the Dr Travancas government, only those who wanted to paid the income tax in Brazil. After that time, as I heard someone say, every Brazilian began to have a 5-year file of papers. So that is a job of building the national state. It is a job of establishing a bureaucracy connected with the central government, which it was not previously; it was a typical civil registry type of state.

The military want to build a national state, in which a number of things are going to be regulated. So you have to establish a modus vivendi with a number of groups. I do not believe, for example, that Brazilian nationalization was planned anew, in the sense of somebody having the plan in his drawer. But I believe that it was necessary to fill vacuums; the only thing is that after you go in and you have a state-control orientation, it is much more complicated to get out.



And there is another thing. What is the minimum wage? What is it to live on a minimum wage from the point of view of an economist? It is a statistic, a table. For the military, it is a very dramatic thing. The military lives it. Not he personally, because he has his salary, he lives a reasonable life. But he sees that every day. In the barracks he sees the illiterate soldier come there, who does not know how to use the toilet, cannot understand how to break down the rifle. In that sense, his experience is much more intense than that of the civilian. He sees that here in the military base, in battalion number whatever in Fortaleza, in the Amazonia Military Command. So I believe that he has, for example, a sensitivity for that type of problem. Up to the rank of captain, major, he has direct daily contact with the soldiers, sergeants. For the military, the Brazilian social problem is a daily thing and it has to do with his profession.

For all of that, he is in one of the few groups that has that plan, that vision of Brazil, and it is homogeneous--a group that, once certain parameters are defined, unites, and quickly.

[Question] And how is liberalization going?

[Answer] Now, here there is something. You hear the political rhetoric: Military, return to the barracks. Return to the barracks to do what? To polish their boots? The business of returning to the barracks is not that simple. You cannot eliminate 17 years of history, to count only from 1964 until now. If you take the historical participation of the military....

I believe that now, now in the next few years, there is going to be a problem that has to be faced by the civilian and military elite: what is going to be the role of the military in Brazil. Because, obviously, liberalization does not eliminate the military. It does not say: that business of the military has ended. It has not ended, no. It is necessary to find out through debate, through serious discussion, what is going to be the role of the military.

The political elite cannot find a role for the military, who must be a little dis-oriented. They must say: fine, now what? What are you going to do with us? The navy minister said the other day that he preferred that the next president be a civilian. But I believe that the role of the armed forces is a more serious and broader organizational and political problem.

I believe that is a very important debate in Brazilian society. What does Brazilian society expect of its military? Should they stay in their barracks shining boots? Should they have a role? How does that fit in with Brazilian foreign policy? What is the role of the military organization in a Brazilian democratic society? It is necessary to find a legitimate place for the military in the operation of the Brazilian state.

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## SAO PAULO METALWORKERS UNION HEAD REELECTED FOR SEVENTH TERM

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 1 Aug 81 p 8

[Text] Sao Paulo--The victory of Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, "Joaquinzao," which had the support of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) and the 8 October Revolutionary Movement (MR-8), represented the defeat of the Workers Party (PT), of Lula, the Grassroots Communities, Socialist Convergence, the Movement for Emancipation of the Proletariat, of Libelu, and a faction of the Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B) that openly supported the other contender, Valdemar Rossi, to head the Sao Paulo Metalworkers Union.

At 2300 hours, counting of ballot box 138, which is subdivided into 10 smaller ones, indicated that Slate 1 had the advantage. It had 21,956 votes against 20,100 for Slate 2. Even if the latter were to get all the votes of the seven remaining ballot boxes, Slate 2 will not be able to make up the difference. The results were being reported to the Department of Political and Social Order (DOPS) by its agents in the union sector.

#### The Support

Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, for 17 years president of the Sao Paulo Metalworkers Union, a sector that has 424,000 workers, had the support of the Brazilian Communist Party and MR-8 and defeated Valdemar Rossi of Slate 2, which had the support of the Workers Party and the Grassroots Communities.

At 2100 hours, the partial results (only one ballot box with about 3,000 votes remained to be counted) indicated that Slate 1 was ahead with 21,921 compared to 19,958 for Slate 2. Joaquim dos Santos Andrade guaranteed his victory in the five ballot boxes installed in union headquarters, which gathered the votes of retirees, unemployed workers and members who did not vote in the factories.

In the 150 ballot boxes that covered the factories, Slate 1 received 14,066 and Slate 2 received 17,273. The atmosphere during the vote counting held at the All-Sports Complex was tense, with the two groups of rooters separated from one another and exchanging slogans; there were rowdy moments, the gates having been closed by the DOPS and the military police.

## Charges

There were 2,000 Rossi supporters; Joaquim's were made up of people connected with the newspaper HORA DO POVO, of MR-8, and coming from Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro. Counting began at 1000 hours and Valdemar Rossi complained about a number of irregularities.

The first disturbance occurred in the court of the sports gymnasium--with the poster still announcing the Bulgaria vs Brazil game. A person carrying cameras managed to get Joaquim and Rossi together for a photo, causing a reaction among members of Slate 2. The photographer refused to give his name, saying only that he was from Obore (a press outfit contracted by Joaquim) and the VOZ DA UNIDADE, a semiofficial spokesman for the PCB. There were threats of a fight, with the photographer even accusing some newsmen of "divisionism" when they tried to photograph the scene.

Slate 2 received a vote advantage of up to 1,000 votes in the initial ballot boxes, but as the union ballot boxes were opened, the advantage diminished. The secretary of the Retired Metalworkers Association, Urias Oliveira, said that the victory would go to Slate 1, supported by the organization.

## Votes Challenged

Various demands to void votes were made by Slate 2. Valdemar Rossi charged that the "election was fraudulent, favored by the shortcomings of the union structure." His biggest complaint pertained to ballot box 138, which received votes in the union.

The refusal to disallow ballot box 138 at 2215 hours led Valdemar Rossi of Slate 2 to withdraw his poll-checkers, an action that was immediately followed by the Slate 1 checkers. The result was that ballot box 138, the last to be counted, was also left without the counters of the two slates, who stopped their work. Under that unforeseen circumstance, the labor proctors had to assume the positions of vote-counters.

Even without knowing the result of ballot box 138, Joaquim dos Santos Andrade's victory was assured. That ballot box, considered "Joaquim's ballot box," stays in the union headquarters on voting days, gathering the votes of the retirees, unemployed and the metalworkers who did not vote in the factories. In the first count, a week ago, that ballot box showed an advantage for Joaquim Dos Santos Andrade: Slate 1--1,315; Slate 2--337; Slate 3--139.

At 1700 hours, there was a disturbance in the bleachers occupied by Slate 2. Then the story was revealed: a DOPS agent was almost hit by a stream of spit; he spotted the culprit and went up to arrest him. In the confusion, his shirt was torn, according to a witness. Nobody was arrested but for 15 minutes those who were inside could not get out, and those who wanted to enter--newsmen, lawyers and even inspectors named by the Regional Labor Department (DRT)--were kept out.

Valdemar Rossi was downcast when the defeat was decided, while Slate 1 carried on, waving blue kerchiefs and shouting "Joaquinzao, Joaquinzaio is going to put an end to division." The vote difference at that point was 1,500 in favor of Slate 1.

At 2030 hours, a demonstration surprised those present. Carried on the shoulders and hailed in unison by his 2,000 supporters, Valdemar Rossi paraded around the enclosure and spoke in behalf of the "free union, which is you."

#### Victor Believes That Good Sense Prevailed

At 2100 hours, Joaquim dos Santos Andrade considered his victory "the victory of good sense and of democracy. My proposition is unity and participation without revanchism." Valdemar Ross of Slate 2 admitted defeat. "I was defeated, yes, but defeated illegally."

"Ballot box 138 is completely irregular and there were also irregularities in ballot boxes 4 and 78. The proctor did not accept our challenges, which could have changed the result. When the law is in our favor, they do not observe it, but when it is against us, they apply it," Rossi said.

According to Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, "the working class today (yesterday) gave what it demands: participation. Our immediate goals are to struggle against unemployment and to fight to overcome the economic crisis." And he added that "the opposition has to participate. Opposition must end when the election ends.

At 2130 hours, ballot box 138--the one that was charged with being irregular by Slate 2--began to be counted under the supervision of the labor department. The votes were recounted one by one and counting was expected to be completed by about 2300 hours.

#### Assessment

"If Rossi had won, they would have said that it was the victory of the PT. Since he lost, the defeat is the church's. Since Joaquim won, the victory is that of the Brazilian Communist Party. If Joaquim had lost, they would then have said that it was the defeat of the henchmen."

That analysis, voiced in a sarcastic tone, was made by the chairman of the Justice and Peace Committee of the Sao Paulo archdiocese, attorney Jose Gregori, when the defeat of the candidate of Slate 2, Valdemar Rossi, supported by the PT and by members of the Grassroots Communities, was already being denied.

A war of slogans between the supporters of Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, made up of people connected with the newspaper HORA DO POVO, MR-8, and Rossi's supporters, summarized the political background of the metalworkers election. The PCB supported Joaquim dos Santos Andrade.

They excitedly exchanged slogans such as "HP (HORA DO POVO) and the Big Party (PCB) will bring joy to the bosses," [by Slate 2 supporters]. And in turn, the Slate 1 supporters, waving blue kerchiefs, shouted: "Joaquimzao will put an end to division." The response was: "Fascists and henchmen are dealt with a drubbing." At the table of Slate 1 (incumbent), Deputy Alberto Goldmann (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) for Sao Paulo), checked the figures, and on the side of Slate 2 (the opposition) Deputies Sergio dos Santos and Marco Aurelio Ribeiro (Workers Party) talked to Helio Bicudo, nominated by the PT as candidate for the governorship of Sao Paulo, observed:



"The results in the factories (Slate 1--14,066; Slate 2--17,273) shows that Joaquim won because of the union ballot boxes. I do not think we can say that the PT was defeated precisely because of that voting, which included the retirees and unemployment."

Slate 1 aides did not like that explanation and said that many people who voted for Slate 3 in the first voting (it received 7,000 votes and withdrew in favor of Slate 2) ended up preferring Joaquim dos Santos Andrade. Deputy Aurelio Perez (PMDB--Sao Paulo), who headed Slate 3, admitted that persons who had voted for our people may have voted now for Slate 1, but they are few. I believe that the political proposition of Slate 2 is bad but it is preferable to that of Slate 1."

Industrialist Paulo Francini, director of the Federation of Industries of Sao Paulo and member of Group 14--which embraces the management associations in the metallurgical sector--admitted yesterday that he had noted "feeble support" among industrial circles over the victory of Joaquim dos Santos Andrade as president of the Sao Paulo Metalworkers Union.

He expressed concern, however, over the division in the sector that was reflected in the elections. "That division may hamper the coming negotiations that are due to take place in October. Because, basically, instead of negotiating with one, you negotiate with two, and those two do not like one another," he observed. He considered that "it would be very good for the two sides to become reconciled because it is worse for the relationship between labor and management not to know with whom one is negotiating."

Paulo Francini has no doubt that the union movement is going through a process of transformation. In his opinion, the question of guaranteed employment will be posed more strongly in the next negotiations. "Two years ago, when guaranteed employment was talked about, the economy was growing and the industrialist was free to hire and fire the worker who, for his part, did not see any threat in that because he could even find a better job."

Now, he explained, the industrialist knows that those 200,000 unemployed that exist may remain unemployed for a long time. For that reason, he believes, the recession may bring the industrialists close to the workers in the search for satisfactory solutions for both. "The forthcoming negotiations will be very fruitful," Francini predicts.

#### Election Revealed Factional Dispute

Sao Paulo--The PT, its national president, Luis Inacio da Silva, "Lula," and the Grassroots Communities, who openly supported the opposition slate headed by Valdemar Rossi, the worker who greeted Pope John Paul II in Morumbi Stadium, were the big losers in the election of Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, "Joaquinzao," to serve his seventh term as president of the Sao Paulo Metalworkers Union.

Lula, his party and the Grassroots Communities of the Church considered that if the opposition were to win, that would be the most important political victory achieved in the country since 1964 because with the Sao Paulo Metalworkers Union in their hands--with 54,000 members and representing a base of 425,000 metalworkers, it is the largest workers union in Latin America--they could imprint a new line on all Brazilian unionism.

For that reason, despite the fact that he was involved in the election campaign for his union, the Metalworkers Union of Sao Bernardo do Campo and Diadema, from which he was ousted as president by Minister Murilo Macedo last year, Lula involved himself in Valdemar Rossi's campaign for the Sao Paulo Metalworkers Union. Thousands of letters in which he asked the Sao Paulo metalworkers to vote for the opposition were mimeographed and distributed in the metallurgical industries of the capital.

That defeat is the second that Lula and the PT have suffered this year in the union sector. Last May, although he did not become directly involved, he and his party lost the election in the Sao Paulo Professional Journalists Union to the opposition. In that election, the majority of the members of the defeated slate belonged to the PT and, although that union has a small membership, victory there would have been important because of the representativeness and mobilizing power that the Sao Paulo journalists union has.

Traditionally, until the emergence of the PT and the Grassroots Communities, and before the splitting of the left, union elections in Sao Paulo represented a political battle between the so-called right and the PCB, with the latter almost always winning. That tendency is confirmed once again in Joaquinza's election since he was supported by the PCB--the wing that follows secretary general Giocondo Dias--and by MR-8. In addition to Lula, the PT and the Grassroots Communities, the radical left was also defeated. Groups such as Socialist Convergence, the Proletariat Emancipation Movement, Freedom and Struggle (Libelu), and a faction of the PC do B supported Valdemar Rossi.

Lula's new defeat, however, should not lead to the conclusion that he will lose the election next August in his biggest bastion, the Metalworkers Union of Sao Bernardo do Campo and Diadema, from which he gained national recognition 4 years ago. Although the margin of victory may not be as large as that Lula hoped for, all the surveys conducted in Sao Berdo do Campo indicated that the slate supported by him will beat the one opposing him, which is headed by unionist Osmar Mendonca and supported by MR-8.

Thus, despite the defeat in the journalists and Sao Paulo metalworkers unions, Lula will reaffirm his strength in the region that is considered the bastion of the most aware workers in Brazil--Sao Bernardo do Campo.

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CSO: 3001/227

## BRIEFS

PLANNING OFFICIAL VISITS TOKYO, MOSCOW--Brasilia (O GLOBO)--Jose Flavio Pecora, general secretary of the Brazilian Planning Ministry, heads a mission consisting of nine persons who will arrive tomorrow in Tokyo to discuss with Japanese businessmen ways of expanding Japanese participation in the Carajas project and in the scrub land irrigation project. On 6 September, the mission will be in Moscow. In Moscow, Pecora will carry on the talks held in the USSR in July by Planning Minister Delfim Neto. Brazil is interested in expanding bilateral trade to promote the sale of Brazilian manufactured products. Brazil is willing to sign long term supply contracts (5 years) of agricultural products with the Soviets in exchange for the sale of manufactured products. Pecora will also make short stopovers in Frankfurt, the FRG; and in Paris. In these two countries he will meet with the general secretaries of the respective economy ministries. Pecora will return to Brazil on 15 September. [Text] [PY290328 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 28 Aug 81 p 19]

NEW 4TH ARMY COMMANDER--In a ceremony presided over by Army Minister Gen Walter Pires this morning, Gen Enio Gouveia dos Santos assumed command of the 4th Army headquartered in Recife, Pernambuco. General Gouveia dos Santos replaced Gen Florimar Campelo who retired upon completing 12 years in the rank of general under provisions of army regulations. [PY010145 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2200 GMT 31 Aug 81]

CSO: 3001/243

## WEEKLY NAMES 50 KEY FIGURES IN PUBLIC LIFE

Santiago QUE PASA in Spanish 30 Jul-5 Aug 81 pp 13-15

[Text] For the 5th consecutive year, the "wizards" at QUE PASA (and some assistant wizards) gathered to ask the same question: Who are the key Chileans in this year 1981? And, as always, it is well to reiterate the foundations, the criteria of selection:

The "key men" pertain solely to the area of public affairs. They do not, then, include the singular figures in other fields which are as important or equally so--cultural, scientific, athletic, etc. Obviously, the "key men" are not only those who manage public affairs, but also those who, in various ways, influence the area. Therefore, the list includes churchmen, journalists, etc.

The "key men" are so classified because of the importance of their work or influence, without judgment as to whether they do it well or badly.

Because of their obvious "weight," neither the chief of state nor the members of the Junta (thus this year, for the first time, Gen Cesar Benavides is not included as a "key man"), nor the heads of the other branches of the state, nor the first lady, are included on the list.

And with these explanations (from those who "because they are wise keep silent, and because they keep silent, are forgotten"), we proceed with the 1981 list.

#### The Government

The economic team contributes Sergio de Castro, minister of finance, for the 5th consecutive year; the new president of the Central Bank, Sergio de la Cuadra (the 1981 replacement for Alvaro Bardon); Miguel Kast (who has also been on the list for 5 years), who is implementing the social welfare reform in the labor post, and continues to be the "sponsoring father" of his former responsibility, the ODEPLAN [National Planning Office]; Jose Pinera, who hopes to repeat his labor and welfare successes in the mining post; and Felipe Lamarca, the harsh taxman.

The political team at La Moneda continues to be headed by Sergio Fernandez, minister of interior (5 years), with another outstanding figure, Jovino Novoa, the dynamic undersecretary general of government.



In other government departments, Enrique Bernstein continues to symbolize the efficient group in charge of papal mediation on the dispute in the southern area; Alfredo Prieto, as minister of education, has implemented the bold and polemic reforms in education in these past two years; Foreign Minister Rene Rojas has achieved excellent success in normalizing our foreign relations; and Minister of Justice Monica Madariaga continues to be the leading voice in the area of justice.

#### Armed Forces

In the navy, Vice-Admirals Lopez and McIntyre are, as they were in 1980, the closest advisers of Admiral Merino.

In the army, the following have decisive influence institutionally or as government leaders:

General Washington Carrasco, vice-commander in chief;

General Humberto Gordon, who heads the much-harassed and debatable but undeniably active CNI;

General Roberto Guillard, in charge both of the CONARA [National Administrative Reform Commission] and the Advisory Committee to the Junta (COAJ), and who also, along with General Santiago Sinclair, minister and chief of the presidential general staff, symbolize a group of high-ranking military officers, a number of them lawyers, who have great influence in the legislative sector today...and not only on the technical level, but also in terms of what we could call "philosophy"--the spirit of the laws promulgated. Two other key men belong to the same generation of generals: Alejandro Medina, rector of the University of Chile, and Gaston Frez, president of the CODELCO [Copper Corporation], the largest state enterprise, and one of the largest in the world.

General Carol Urzua, intendant of Santiago, who has established a new concept of the relations between the majors and their regional intendant.

#### Politics

This sector is in recess, but it has not died. This field involves a politics of ideas more than what we traditionally call politics.

On the government side, three trends can be seen:

the trade union sector, represented on our list by Jaime Guzman (5th year), strong in the universities, youth groups and with some of the mayors;

the nationalist sector, in which the most outstanding figure continues to be Pablo Rodriguez (5 years on our list), a columnist for QUE PASA and LA TERCERA. However, this sector is gradually (Rodriguez included) finding its "home" in the National Studies Corporation headed by Lucia Pinochet Hiriart; and

the supporters of the pro-Pinochet civic-military movement, forcefully launched by journalist Federico Willoughby. Willoughby's idea has been attacked by the trade union sector and EL MERCURIO, but is believed to have won sympathy among the nationalists and in government and military sectors (see story on p 17).

On the opposition side, Eduardo Frei (5 years) and the combative ideologist Jaime Castillo are political survivors among the Christian Democrats, while on the other hand, the sociologist Claudio Orrego emerges as the possible "man of the future."

The clandestine and violent opposition, on the other hand, continues to cause problems with its never-ending series of attacks. For 1980, our choice as its symbol was Andres Pascal. This year we do not know if Pascal is still in Chile (if in fact he ever was), but terrorism continues to be a fact. Its mentor is XX, our key man No 32.

#### Trade Unions

Copper workers' leaders Guillermo Medina and Bernardino Castillo and the "rebel" leader of the farmers, Domingo Duran, retain their "weight," while the star of the leader of the controversial "coordinating body," Manuel Bustos, is rising with his bold attempt, through the "portfolio of Chile," to revive trade unionism of a national and politically oriented nature in the style of the CUT [Single Federation of Workers] of the past and not so happy years.

#### The Church

The dividing lines within this sector have become clearer and more definite. Cardinal Silva (5 years on the list) continues in harsh opposition to the government, as does his deputy, Monsignor Jorge Hourton, in still more vehement fashion, and in continuous and public contact with the political left. On the other hand, and equally clearly defined--perhaps taking a more extreme stand because of the very violence of his opposition--is the archbishop of the port, Monsignor Emilio Tagle. Two other churchmen who are friends of "the future" are navigating cautiously--the secretary of the Chilean bishops and a bishop himself, Monsignor Bernardino Pinera (5 years) and the vice-chancellor of the Catholic University, Monsignor Jorge Medina, who has important contacts in Rome. The entire Chilean church is looking toward 1982, when suddenly (due to the age of the incumbents) three archiepiscopal seats will be vacant: Santiago, Valparaiso and Concepcion.

#### The Press

Here the names have changed little. Arturo Fontaine has been on our list for 5 years, representing the power of EL MERCURIO. Alberto Guerrero, in turn, represents the rival power of LA TERCERA. Also representing that morning daily, and because of his own skill as a consummate navigator in all seas, German Pico Canas is a "key man." And finally, Hernan Garcia and Eleodoro Rodriguez symbolize the unchallenged weight of their respective television channels (National and Catholic) and the network in general.

#### Miscellaneous--Difficult To Classify

Finally, there are "key men" whose influence is little challenged but who are difficult to categorize. Jorge Alessandri continues in his retirement to exert influence because of his experience and intelligence, and because he is admired and consulted by many who are themselves important individuals. Something similar occurs with Julio Philippi, if indeed he is of course much younger and fully active. However, his importance still transcends the serious specific tasks, such as for example

those involved in the mediation effort, which are his responsibility. Jorge Swett, rector of the Catholic University, continues to govern the second largest university in the country with skill, wisely balancing the influence of a state and a church which think little of each other. Horacio Gonzalez, the masonic leader, remains on the list for that reason, despite the internal conflict to which his style of leadership has led in the order. Javier Vial and Manuel Cruzat still head the most powerful and expansive economic groups: the present situation does not seem to affect them. Pablo Baraona, as an economist, publicist and key man for difficult tasks (the CRAV-CRAVAL agreement) is back on the list. And the public insists on assigning a role to General (ret) Manuel Contreras which goes beyond his physical activities in a private security agency, with the aid of numerous and competent retired generals and colonels: of these individuals who are miscellaneous and difficult to classify, Contreras, Cruzat, Vial, Philippi and Alessandri have been on our list for 5 years.

#### The 50 Key Men in 1981

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Jorge Alessandri               | 26. Vice-Admiral Raul Lopez                      |
| 2. Pablo Baraona                  | 27. Monica Madariaga                             |
| 3. Enrique Bernstein              | 28. Vice-Admiral Ronald McIntyre                 |
| 4. Manuel Bustos                  | 29. Alejandro Medina                             |
| 5. General Washington Carrasco    | 30. Guillermo Medina                             |
| 6. Bernardino Castillo            | 31. Monsignor Jorge Medina                       |
| 7. Jaime Castillo                 | 32. XX, MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] |
| 8. General (ret) Manuel Contreras | 33. Jovino Novoa                                 |
| 9. Manuel Cruzat                  | 34. Claudio Orrego                               |
| 10. Sergio de Castro              | 35. Julio Philippi                               |
| 11. Sergio de la Cuadra           | 36. German Pico                                  |
| 12. Domingo Duran                 | 37. Lucia Pinochet Hiriart                       |
| 13. Sergio Fernandez              | 38. Bernardino Pinera                            |
| 14. Arturo Fontaine               | 39. Jose Pinera                                  |
| 15. Eduardo Frei                  | 40. Alfredo Prieto                               |
| 16. Gaston Frez                   | 41. Eleodoro Rodriguez                           |
| 17. Hernan Garcia Barzelatto      | 42. Pablo Rodriguez                              |
| 18. Horacio Gonzalez              | 43. Rene Rojas                                   |
| 19. General Humberto Gordon       | 44. Cardinal Raul Silva                          |
| 20. Alberto Guerrero              | 45. General Santiago Sinclair                    |
| 21. General Roberto Guillard      | 46. Jorge Swett                                  |
| 22. Jaime Guzman                  | 47. Monsignor Emilio Tagle                       |
| 23. Monsignor Jorge Hourton       | 48. General Carol Urzua                          |
| 24. Miguel Kast                   | 49. Javier Vial                                  |
| 25. Felipe Lamarca                | 50. Federico Willoughby                          |

#### The Former Key Men

Of the names on our 1980 list, the following 13 have lost their places--and almost all of them were probably very pleased, because it is not amusing to find oneself always in the focus of public attention (and on the spot): Patricio Aylwin, seemingly less active or less influential than before in the old Christian Democratic sector; General Sergio Badiola, transferred from the Secretariat General of Government to the military mission in Spain; Alvaro Bardón, transferred from the

presidency of the Central Bank to the Concepcion Bank (with no effect on his well-read columns in EL MERCURIO); student leader Juan Antonio Coloma; the bishop of Chillan, Francisco Jose Cox; Hernan Garcia Vidal, who went from the rectorship at the University of Chile to the Institute of Regional Studies at that same university; Patricio Guzman, former mayor of Santiago and now manager of the Aksametal construction company; Alfonso Marquez, who retired from the Ministry of Agriculture to his private farm and export businesses; General (ret) Odlanier Mena, who went from the CNI to the embassy in Paraguay; Juan Carlos Mendez, who went from the budget office to the Public Studies Center; MIR leader Pascal, of whom nothing has been heard for many months; General (ret) Agustin Toro, former rector of the University of Chile, who is now working with General (ret) Contreras and preparing to take over the rectorship at the brand new Andalien University, organized by the Lions Club of Penco; and Andres Zaldivar, now in exile.

#### Future Glimpses

There are certain emerging elements in public life who are moving closer to being "key men." For example, there is the priest Raul Hasbun, whose newspaper and television reports speak for an increasing following; the controversial rector of the University of Concepcion, Guillermo Clericus, who has introduced a revolutionary variation in the field of student representation at that institution; Luis Valentin Ferrada, the spokesman for youth sectors situated between Jaime Guzman's trade unionism and the nationalism of Pablo Rodriguez (see main story); Genaro Arrigada, an emerging figure in the Christian Democratic youth sector; Hugo Rosende, dean of law at the University of Chile, another legal voice carefully heeded on the higher levels; General Fernando Lyon, of the "jurist generals'" group mentioned in the body of the article; Fernando Gonzalez, a nationalist who head the Teaching Academy, to which the former secondary and basic educational levels at the University of Chile have been transferred; Jose Luis Toro, minister of agriculture, who enjoys the very best of relations with the farm associations; Andres Chadwick, youth leader, and others whose names do not come to mind now.





J. Alessandri



E. Bernstein



M. Bustos



Gral. W. Carrasco



B. Castillo



M. Cruzat



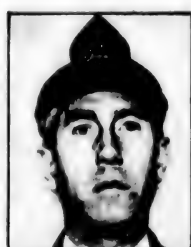
S. de Castro



S. de la Cuadra



A. Prieto



Almirante R. Lopez



M. Kast



D. Durán



S. Fernandez



E. Frei



G. Frez



Gral. H. Gordon



Gral. R. Guillard



J. Guzmán

M. Madariaga



R. McIntyre



Gral. A. Medina



G. Medina



C. Orrego



J. Philippi



L. Pinochet



Mons. B. Piñera



J. Piñera



P. Rodriguez



R. Rojas



Cardenal R. Silva



J. Swett



J. Vial

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CSO: 3010/1692

## CASTRO DECORATES POET GUILLEN WITH MARTI MEDAL

FL08041 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, president of the councils of state and ministers, last night decorated Nicolas Guillen with the Jose Marti Order during a solemn ceremony held at the palace of conventions which was attended by members of the PCC politburo, secretariat and central committee, government ministers and leaders of mass and professional organizations well as the participants in the meeting of intellectuals for the sovereignty of our America's peoples.

Cuban Culture Minister Armando Hart read the resolution of presentation of the award, the highest conferred by the council of state. He said that Guillen is ours not only as a Cuban but also as a Caribbean and Latin American, and additionally as an exponent of that which is most progressive and popular of the movement of intellectuals in the entire world.

At the conclusion of Hart's speech, the chief of the Cuban revolution walked toward Guillen and placed on his chest the order bearing the image of the hero of Cuban independence, and subsequently embraced him.

Nicolas Guillen made a speech to express gratitude for the honor conferred on him and recalled that the enormous gains made by our people during these years of socialist work constitute the great poem which is the Cuban Revolution. Then, the Cuban national poet recited his poem "I Have," which was accorded a prolonged ovation.

Subsequently, those present in the ceremony attended a reception hosted by the president of the councils of state and ministers in honor of the participants in the largest meeting of Latin American intellectuals ever held in our country. During the reception the commander in chief chatted with the guests from all parts of the world.

CSO: 3010/1771

## WEST ARMY CHIEF SETS OUR 1981-1982 TRAINING GOALS

FL021217 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1045 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] In connection with the beginning of the 1981-82 training period in the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] units, the chief of the western army, Div Gen Ulises Rosales del Toro, addressed the members of his command. The speech discussed the main tasks and missions that the Army should undertake at this stage.

The new training period just beginning raises new requirements and tasks among which we consider the following as basic: to maintain a high level of combat readiness and campaign training of the larger and regular units so that they may be permanently ready to reject any enemy aggression; to continue to raise the level of training of chiefs, officers and staff in their mission to make the troops and forces completely combat ready, rapidly deployable and trained for combat; to continue to raise the ideological level of training, combining the theoretical knowledge acquired with the practice of military work; to continue to raise the level of quality in the training of the troops, especially in basic subjects, consolidating the levels reached in (?firearms use), tactics and leadership; and to continue to raise the qualitative training of the reserves, particularly the training of territorial troops.

These objectives can be attained by means of the implementation of methods and styles of work designed to make education, consciousness, order and discipline more systematic and abundant. We must then continue to improve the methods of administering and controlling combative and political training, continue to increase the methodological training of our officers, continue to develop the material base of study, improving the application of regulations and direct work with the men.

Div Gen Ulises Rosales del Toro concluded: this training period is the first that follows the celebration of the second party congress, an event which appraised the work of the armed forces as satisfactory and showed that we are militarily stronger today. Hence, we shall strive to improve each day's results, increase exigency and salute the 25th anniversary of the armed forces with higher levels of combat readiness.

CSO: 3010/1771



## HART'S ADDRESS TO INTELLECTUALS

FL051933 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0030 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Speech by Armando Hart, Member of the PCC Politburo and minister of culture, at the 4 September Opening Session of the Meeting of Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of the Peoples of Our America held at Havana's Palace of Conventions--recorded]

[Text] Comrade Fidel Castro, comrades all: There are many intellectuals in the honored legion of martyrs of our America. Many of them are in prison or have been kidnapped or murdered by fascist regimes. And there are some in the frontline of combat in several countries of our America. Our first words are addressed to them and to those who have in the course of history joined the best of revolutionary minds.

Casa de Las Americas, you well know, is your home. At its convocation, a very large number of writers, artists, researchers, critics and theoreticians of culture have gathered in Havana to meet and to reflect on the defense of the sovereign rights of the peoples of our America. Casa de Las Americas calls and gathers us here because it is convinced that Latin American and Caribbean intellectuals exert an important influence in the fulfillment of that great responsibility.

We welcome you conscious of the need to put into practice the precursory words of Jose Marti: the trees must close ranks so the seven-league giant may not pass. The time has come for taking inventory and marching together and we shall walk in tight formation as the silver at the bottom of the Andes [Hemos de Andar en Cuadro Apretado Como la Plata en Las Raices de Los Andes].

Just as Marti had feared, the seven-league giant seized Cuba and Puerto Rico and fell upon our American lands with greater force. The time to take inventory and march together, the time to walk in close formation as the silver at the bottom of the Andes, impels us today in 1981 not only to stop the seven-league giant but to make him leave our lands once and for all. And if our Cuban land was the initial strong point for his penetration, it will now be the moral strong point for his definitive expulsion. Through America, the world began to learn about itself in the 15th and 16th centuries. Through America, the world must advance to the definitive conquest of its freedom on the threshold of the 21st [century]. We, the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean are not a closed world turned inward to itself. We are a beautiful combination of universal factors. What is looked

after and protected in terms of culture in America is our own creation and it is also a universal creation. The universal vocation of our America, born of the very wide diversity of its cultural components, is an extraordinarily valuable factor in a world where narrow nationalism, chauvinism and imperialist prepotency limit the expansion of creative freedom. That vocation can and should play an outstanding role in the struggle for world peace.

For economic, historical and cultural reasons, the liberation of our America will also influence the United States itself with whose people we shall reach an understanding on the basis of equality, mutual respect and the clear comprehension that over there, in the other America, there are a working people, exploited masses and honest and progressive intellectuals, many of whom share our cultural origins.

When we denounce imperialist domination in our America, we are defending a work of the universe for the benefit of the world. This denunciation is founded not only on the individual reflections of any honest and right-thinking man. It is also supported by reading the dramatic reports in the press or the studies our intellectuals are doing on the genocide and violence that the majority of the countries of the continent are suffering or on the terrible conditions in which millions of residents of the so-called villas miserias [slums] live and on the hunger, the lack of health and illiteracy suffered by tens of millions of peasants subjected to the most cruel exploitation and by those who live in vast regions of the continent on the fringes of civilization.

And while this is going on, the imperialist country spends hundreds of billions of dollars in an arms race which, if not stopped by mankind, could fatally lead to a nuclear holocaust.

This denunciation is also based on the critical situation faced by the various disciplines of cultural creation and human knowledge in a continent in which, in addition to illiteracy and lack of culture, there are still regimes that burn books, assassinate artists and writers and persecute thousands of their most able citizens. And they do so as part of a plan of denationalization and subordination to foreign interests, a plan with which they deprive our peoples of their material resources and at the same time try to rob them of their capacity to create art and develop their own ideas.

The illiterate population 15 years or older in our area is over 40 million. As this is the official figure--reality is much more dramatic. When this figure is broken down into countries, the problem becomes extraordinarily distressing. The official rate of illiteracy in Bolivia is 37 percent. In Guatemala it is 54 percent, in Haiti, 77 percent. A very optimistic estimate allows us to assert that at least one out of every four inhabitants of our continent cannot read the pages of a book or the headlines of a newspaper and cannot write a letter or sign a document. Underlying this situation are the huge limitations of the educational systems which do not serve the great majority of the population, and the dropout rate which in our America is 60 percent. This happens in a continent where 41 percent of the population is under 14 years of age. In other words, where 150 million of children and adolescents live. What talent and effort have created for thousands of years is not available to the source of tomorrow's culture, i.e., those 150 million children and adolescents, but rather, at the whim of their executioners and murderers, of the same people who control the means of extermination and war.

Who knows how many artists, intellectuals and scholars are nipped in the bud, condemned to vegetating by regimes that are killing culture with impunity.

And this is not only a problem of our America. According to UNESCO figures, there were 814 million illiterates in the world in 1980. Given existing trends, it is estimated that this figure will be 884 million by 1990. These projections indicate that mankind will enter the third millenium with nearly 1 billion adult illiterates-- 1 billion adults who the civilized 20th century will leave bereft of culture. And this is happening in the last decades of the 20th century while the scientific and technical revolution extends the human universe in the age of computers and cosmic flight.

Artistic creation has given birth and development to a branch of material production with complex economic and technological demands. It has created in developed countries a strong cultural industry. This is an important basis for the development of the cultural movement in our times. What conditions do our countries possess to meet these technical and economic demands?

In our America, the United States has concentrated almost 70 percent of its foreign investments on our America. From investment profits and external debt service alone, it obtains approximately 40 billion dollars a year from this area. The external debt of Latin America and the Caribbean has increased more than 15 times between 1965 and 1980, when it reached 150 billion dollars. In 1 year alone, the United States takes out as much as all the gold that the European metropolises took during the conquest [of Latin America].

These figures are further aggravated by the multiplied burden of the petroleum crisis, recession, inflation and other phenomena of the world's capitalist economy. These are the resources and funds that are needed--and even then will not suffice--to develop education and culture in our America.

And it is not a matter only of present data but of the even more dramatic figures of the future.

Our region's population has been growing at a rate of 2.8 percent a year. In other words, a rate more than three times that of developed countries. The number of inhabitants, which was 368 million in 1980, will continue to grow significantly in the remainder of the century until it reaches 600 million in 2000. This means that at the end of this century, the population of Latin America and the Caribbean will amply exceed that of all Europe with the exception of the Soviet Union, and it will be nearly double that of the total population in the United States and Canada at present. These people will represent 1/10 of the 6 billion souls on earth by then. Eighty percent of the world's population will live in the new underdeveloped countries by then.

Concerning these demographic projections which require colossal economic, social and cultural efforts, one of the U.S. theoreticians of contemporary malthusianism came to write: "The Future Looks Gloomy, Very Gloomy."

The future may look gloomy to the imperialists, but the present is also gloomy for the peoples. The gross domestic product per inhabitant in Latin America and the

Caribbean is not even 1/4 of the average in developed countries, and this situation is further aggravated by the fact that in some nations such as Haiti it is so low that it is beyond any possible comparison. In our America, 5 percent of the population gets 1/3 of the total income. Thus, this opulent minority has an annual income that is 40 times higher than that of the poorer strata.

At the beginning of this century sixty-five million people, a figure close to the number of inhabitants our America had to try to subsist--barely--with less than 50 dollars a year.

Can this immense population reach acceptable levels of culture? Can the problems of art and culture with the required modern technological and industrial demands be dealt with the poverty and very low income levels of Latin American and Caribbean societies?

Economic and socio-cultural budgets are so basic to structural reforms that it is impossible for such a significant group of intellectuals to analyze the continent's cultural drama without raising the need for deep social changes. As this inequality in the economic field is manifested in the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer, it manifests itself culturally both the rich and the poor becoming less cultured.

We must consider culture as an essential component of development. It is so because of its indirect but enormously significant effect on increased work productivity and also because of its influence on the improved quality of social life. The qualitative elements of social life substantially depend on cultural movement.

Our intellectuals--you--raise the banners of a genuinely and popular and humanist culture--which is to say, creative--and commit yourselves to its defense. You are assuming that commitment is something natural. You experience the social drama of America and are prepared to denounce it. That denunciation is the most important factor for unity among men and women of culture of this continent.

The search for an increasingly broader and deeper unity among intellectuals should lead us to reflect about what the topics are that we should subject to analysis and who our main enemies are.

The crucial problems of culture and the consistent struggle against our real enemies should be foremost in this analysis beyond any other consideration. We revolutionaries do not shirk from debating any topic, no matter how harsh it may be. Of course, we are not infallible nor are we unaware that we might have made mistakes in the development of cultural work, but the problem consists precisely in that the enemies, aided by the control they exert on the information and cultural propagation media, are employing tactics aimed at trying to divide us and to divert our attention to second-rate discussions so we will neglect the important discussions.

They are trying to erect a smoke screen to prevent the emphasis and study of the following: the system of imperialist exploitation exerts a ferocious tyranny on the creative capacity of the popular masses and the best talents of Latin America and the Caribbean.



What is so serious and hence complex about the matter is that they have available to them the most elaborate techniques afforded by the advances of civilization and culture in the world. They take these techniques and they employ them against culture and against the development of man's free conscience and they do so in a sophisticated, elaborate and macabre manner.

At the core of the influence that the imperialist circles exert on the culture of our peoples is a problem that constitutes a vital question in the modern cultural world. The director general of UNESCO, Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, has noted that the struggle for economic autonomy and liberating culture hinges on the relation between communication and culture. This relation is evident in the imperialist control of the editorial processes, films and television, radio, press, advertising, and, in general, the flow of information.

The UNESCO's international commission for the study of communications problems says in its provisional report that the right to culture cannot be separated from the right to communication. It also notes that communication as a whole is one of the main instruments of cultural development, the imperialists' bombardment of false and distorted information leads to hundreds of millions of people living amid a great lie.

The United States controls 75 percent of international television and 50 percent of the films viewed in the world. In Latin American countries, 60 or 70 percent of television programming comes from the United States. Some years ago, the United States had 62 percent of the world's advertising budget. The 10 companies that dominate the international advertising market operate under the U.S. flag. The United States controls from 60 to 70 percent of the editorial market of the capitalist world. The monopoly that the big U.S. companies exert on textbooks makes it easier to introduce their pseudocultural plans among our people.

We can add to this, the system of scholarship, the funding of research and experimental projects in the most diverse disciplines that has been increasing in the United States in the course of the past few decades. In 1940, the foundations organized with these ends in mind, did not exceed 300. In 1968, the centers of this type amounted to 25,000. In recent years, their number has grown so much that according to reports it is not easy to arrive at their exact, very high figure. With this instrument, they penetrate the various countries of the world and carry out their brain drain policy.

Satellite computers and telex using ultra-fast peripheral circuits make it possible for the U.S. agencies UPI and AP to process and transmit 8 million words a day. By contrast, seven agencies from the underdeveloped world, among the most dynamic of them, scarcely exceed 50,000 words a day. AP and UPI dominate almost 70 percent of international information. The United States controls almost 30 percent of the mass media. In Latin America and the Caribbean, however, only 60 percent of the population have access to a radio and only 6 percent to the printed media. In our America, four of every 10 people are still without access to the communications and information media.

Can we talk culture to those four of every 10 people who are without communication? To what extent does our cultural movement feel pressured by this monopolistic control of the communications media which reveals a tyranny exerted in the name of and in response to the interests of the U.S. ruling classes?

Friends of Cuba outside the country often tell us that we should publicize more the achievements of the revolution. This healthy criticism may be justified but we also ask them to understand the enormous amount of falsehoods that we have to deal with when the information, communication and propagation means in the West are in the hands of the imperialist circles.

For this reason, allow me to briefly refer to Cuba's cultural policy. A topic of great interest is that of creative freedom and democracy in culture, never before in Cuba's history have our intellectuals had greater freedom and chances for creation and for broader participation in the state's cultural policy. Never before had there been in our country a popular participation as broad and deep in artistic creation and the formulation of cultural policy. These principles are enunciated in several official documents, including our laws, but they are not all inclusive. In addition to that legislation and to whatever we may say here, there are the facts. We invite you to meet with our intellectuals and with the main representatives of social and mass organizations and other institutions to analyze these problems. We invite you to visit our scientific and cultural centers, our universities, and there meet with intellectuals, students, teachers and ask about these questions.

Comrades, the figures we mentioned earlier and many more that you all know, highlight the following substantial fact: under the hegemony of U.S. imperialism, a process of internationalization of the technical means of information and communication has taken place to such an extent that none of our countries will be able to withstand it alone. But all our peoples, united, will not only be able to resist but also to defeat the process. A huge technocratic tangle has been created and the so-called U.S. mass culture model has established itself as the value standard. This model responds to the interests of the small economic and military groups which are at the center of imperial power.

Western countries find themselves subject to the influence of the ideological plan and dogma imposed by the U.S. consortia and multinationals. The political intent of this dogma consists in presenting as the truth the lie that the empire is the nation of democracy and that it protects individual rights and foments art and culture. That propaganda tries to ignore the fact that imperialism is by definition anti-democratic.

The times of pre-monopolistic capitalism are far behind us. A very high degree of concentration and fusion of economic, political and military power in the hands of a minority which owns the basic economic resources and the means of extermination and war has taken place. This minority uses these resources and means to impose its will and interests both within the United States and in the area of international relations.

Specific examples are numerous. Let us only mention some of them. A society such as the United States', where national minorities are discriminated against in a brutal manner, is no model of democracy. These minorities include a large popula-

tion of Latin American and Caribbean origin. Amid a great material and technological wealth, there still exists one of the most shameful, offensive and inhuman forms of racial--and hence social--discrimination in all history.

The right to work, education and culture are a substantial part of the democracy to which mankind aspires. What kind of individual rights can exist for the 8 million of unemployed U.S. citizens and for 10 percent of the U.S. population which, according to estimates done in the United States itself, are still illiterate and cannot write the word "democracy"? The imperialist system that spread over America, seized its material wealth and imposed economic, political and cultural [passage lost in recording] cannot give us a lesson in democracy.

Our America rejects a system which on one hand proclaims itself to be democratic and on the other maintains the colonial regime of Puerto Rico, the occupation of the Panama Canal and supports the tyrannies suffered by Chile, Uruguay, El Salvador, Guatemala and Haiti, among others.

The systematic effort to exterminate, crush or adulterate Puerto Rico's national culture against which that fraternal nation has and is heroically fighting, is one of the most eloquent examples that the imperialists represent the negation of the principles of cultural identity of our peoples. It is our duty toward Latin American and Caribbean culture to assert that the Puerto Rican fatherland belongs entirely to our America and should be supported in its independence aims.

Those who landed their marines in Nicaragua, occupied the country and after the Nicaraguan people defeated them by the force of arms assassinated Sandino and violently repressed the people's movement, have no right to portray themselves as democratic. Those who in 1965 destroyed the democratic government in the Dominican Republic, then bloodily repressed the people's movement which opposed this action and landed U.S. marines to impose their will, totally lack morals to speak of democracy.

Those who encouraged and organized the overthrow of the constitutional and democratic government of Salvador Allende in Chile have no right to portray themselves as democratic. Those who support the genocide and crimes against the Salvadoran and Guatemalan peoples in a vain attempt to halt the inevitable triumph of democracy and freedom in those fraternal countries have no right to portray themselves as democratic.

Those who illegally occupy the Guantanamo Naval Base against the will of our people and have kept up threats, aggressions and the criminal blockade of Cuba for more than 2 decades have no right to portray themselves as democratic. Those who hurl boasts and threats at Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba and try to impose their will on Mexico because these countries have taken the independent path, have no right to portray themselves as democratic.

The ruling circles that were capable of organizing and maintaining a criminal war against a small nation located thousands of miles away such as the war that imperialism maintained against heroic and victorious Vietnam have no right to speak of democracy to us. Those who plot attempts on the lives of the leaders of other countries behind the shelter of power, those who support the Mafia and the CIA, those

who employ repression and violence against the democratic movement of our peoples and those who base their foreign policy on the threat of atomic war, totally lack morals to portray themselves as a model of democracy.

The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean do not want that kind of democracy. That is not the democracy that we seek in the second half of the 20th century. The United States stopped being an example of a democratic system quite some time ago.

One day they raised the banner of human rights and their ignorance and prepotency was such that they did not notice that the slogan went against themselves. The dogma of U.S. freedom intoxicates them and they fail to understand the reality of a world that is struggling to win the freedom that the imperialists themselves have snatched away. Now they raise the banner of the struggle against terrorism and it is they who are the main promoters and executors of international terrorism. They use the tactics of the thief who following his theft cries: look for the thief!

The famous prophecy of the liberator, Simon Bolivar, who a year before his death said: "The United States seems destined by providence to inflict misery on America in the name of freedom, has been fulfilled."

Using the same means of communication and propagation with which it carries out its propaganda against Cuba and the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean that have taken the revolutionary path and portrays us as antidemocratic, the empire effects on the peoples of the continent and intolerable intellectual penetration which does affect the essential principles of our independence and our freedom.

If the powerful technical means are not at the service of our peoples and if we do not protect ourselves, technological dependence will be perpetuated as one of the great obstacles against our cultural identity, the very development of our culture and hence the creative freedom of the masses and individual talents. The defense of our cultural identity is not only an intellectual principle. It amounts to deciding whether we are going to have creative freedom in art and culture or not, and whether we are to be independent and sovereign countries or not.

For all these reasons, comrades, we feel it necessary that our peoples and their intellectuals join together to work on the international campaign against the monopolistic control of the technical means of cultural information and propagation. As in the times of Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, Juarez and Marti: to break the chains of ignorance and intellectual slavery we must first break the chains of foreign exploitation.

Comrades: there is not an older, more deeply human or more universally supported ideal than the ideal of peace. Since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the most eminent scientists have been pointing to the seriousness of the matter in the atomic age. It is a matter of the very survival of the human race. The atomic bomb dropped over Hiroshima in 1945 destroyed a city of 100,000 inhabitants and there are still people suffering and dying as a result of that crime. Today, there are thousands of hydrogen bombs in military arsenals that are capable of destroying all mankind, the most responsible and knowledgeable people are alarmed. All we have to do is look at what many of them write and say.



No one can imagine what the world will be like following a thermonuclear war. The concepts of art and culture will lose all their meaning. It is frightening to think what the world will be like, devastated by an atomic explosion.

In his work *Guernica*, Picasso portrayed the horrors of war. As usual, reality will be stronger than the artist's imagination. There will be no art able to portray it. There will be no human being to enjoy the sad privilege of contemplating this reality. There will be no art because art only exists for men.

How to stop the arms race? That is, how to stop the most incredible madness of all time? Can a force of public opinion and popular and social mobilization be developed on a world scale capable of preventing our plunge into the abyss of nuclear holocaust? It does not seem to us that there is an alternative. We must seek the means to join wills and actively mobilize nations against the war before it is too late.

In recent days, the U.S. Government's announcement that it would build neutron bombs has triggered ever growing protest. It seems to us that the intellectuals of our America can do a good deal to make this movement become a force capable of halting the criminal hands that are leading the world along the path to World War III.

You, gathered in Havana, will surely give a renewed cry of alarm. This is perhaps the most important topic that you will discuss in these days.

In the midst of the obstacles noted--and, unfortunately, these are not the only ones--there is something that can light our way. It is evident that in spite of its greater danger, U.S. imperialism has lost in recent decades its absolute hegemony in the world. Moreover, never before in history were the ideological, moral and cultural factors more likely to have universal influence.

Thirty years ago, the main influence over world events was exerted exclusively by a group of highly developed countries. Today, any nation can influence the course of events in some way or another. The world is, for the first time, politically universal. A powerful cultural and ideological system has been created on the international scale that links all the peoples of the earth, the most diverse communities, and within them, men of talent and culture. The system of international cultural relations that link you among yourselves and links you to the intellectuals of North America, Europe, the socialist countries, Africa and Asia, can be and should be an important means for the development of a consistent struggle for peace and for the ideals of social and cultural progress for our peoples.

World problems have become extraordinarily dramatic, complex and difficult. Their solution demands courage, imagination, intelligence and culture. Considering the spiritual life of our peoples, what man has created and is creating with his talent and imagination, what has made man a man, it is culture that ultimately differentiates man from animal. This is the authority that you represent. Together, nations and men require that you exert that moral authority, not only so you will influence today's intellectuals but also those of tomorrow. You are not alone. The intellectuals of America will follow you. The students in educational centers will hear your message of encouragement and hope. You, identified with the heroic

struggle of the exploited masses of our America, are in a position to influence the continent's intellectual strata and project yourselves outwardly to the world with the great banners of today's mankind. Your unity in the ideological and cultural battles of our age can some day create a wide trench of ideals, an army of principles whose ideological arsenals lie in the history of America and in the broadly universal culture of our continent.

Comrades: who will predominate may be decided on the very threshold of the third millenium of our era--whether man as animal or man as man. If the former, the result will be barbarianism. If the latter, the result will be culture. We are convinced that this meeting in Havana will be a step forward in the universal struggle against crime, barbarianism and imperialism and in favor of intelligence, culture and the peoples. In fulfilling this gigantic and beautiful task, you will be rendering a historic service to our America and the world. Thank you. [Applause]

CSO: 3010/1769

## NICARAGUA'S CARDENAL CLOSES INTELLECTUALS MEETING

## Cardenal Speech

FL090005 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 2030 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Speech by Nicaraguan Culture Minister Ernesto Cardenal Closing the Meeting of Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of Our America Held at Havana's Palace of Conventions--live]

[Excerpts] Comrade Minister of Culture Armando Hart; Comrade Mariano Rodriguez, president of Casa de Las American; Comrades all: Comrade Minister Hart has charged me with making the closing remarks but I assume that neither he or any of you is expecting new words after all that has been said here already. There is nothing left for me to do but to repeat. But that is precisely what we all have to do when we leave here--repeat, and repeat some more.

Firstly, I am impelled to repeat once more how important this event is. It is important, first of all, because it is being held in Cuba. Everything that takes place in Cuba is important throughout Latin America and the world. The mere mention of the word "Cuba" says it all. This meeting is also important because of the ominous international circumstances, or better yet, pre-apocalyptic circumstances that we are living in. This is a movie in which the cowboy [in English] points his gun at the indian. But in this case, the movie is real life.

To cite only our own case, we Nicaraguans are threatened in all manners: with economic strangulation, with blockade. We are refused loans, wheat was denied to us, and former Somozist guards are training in Miami and in many other places in the United States.

I have just returned from Libya, where I went as part of a delegation led by Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Nicaraguan Government Junta, to attend the 12th anniversary celebrations of the triumph of the Libyan revolution. And shortly before we left, the Nicaraguan Government Junta received a message from Washington saying that Commander Daniel Ortega's trip to Libya would not be viewed in a favorable light and that if he did go he should face the consequences. Commander Daniel Ortega went to Libya and, in addition, told about this message from Washington in a public speech. This shows our determination to be independent regardless of the consequences and to fight to defend this independence to the last. [Applause]

This meeting is also important because of the many intellectuals gathered here. It is something that had never happened before in the history of Latin America. An interesting fact is that there are theologians attending this meeting. I believe it is very clear that the participation of Christians in the revolution is important, but this goes even further. We have many Christians integrated into Marxism in Latin America--they are Marxists. In addition, there is going to be a union of revolutionary Christians and revolutionary Islam that is going to be a union of the Arab world and Latin America as well. Christianity and Islam, which for centuries fought holy wars against one another, will unite. Revolutionary Christians and revolutionary Muslims will unite for a holy war against imperialism, and the same goes for Buddhism. And this union will be one of Christians, Muslims and Buddhists with Marxism. [Applause]

We must come to the defense of culture, which is the same as saying the defense of sovereignty, cultural cannot be complete without full sovereignty. With the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua we have experienced an enormous cultural renaissance. And in El Salvador, many songs can now be heard. The clarions of victory, it is like hearing the cock crow in the darkness. The young are being killed there for the mere fact that they are young, as used to happen in Nicaragua. And peasants are killed for the mere fact that they are peasants, and Guatemala is living under the reign of the death squads, and imperialism is doing all this so that El Salvador and Guatemala do not become what Nicaragua is now. And there is something even worse: they are doing it against Nicaragua because they want things to be like they were before in Nicaragua and like they are right now in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Another crime of imperialism is that they are causing division among us in Central America, the small brother countries.

And speaking of crimes, the death of that great statesman, revolutionary and also an intellectual--and to me, a poet--Omar Torrijos, is evidently a crime. [Applause] It is evidently a crime and he is another martyr of the liberation of Latin America.

Nicaragua knows that we are simply a trench won, a territory liberated. The revolution is one and Latin America is one people. We have more unity than the Arab world, and we also have Latin America in the United States Chicanos demonstrated here.

What shall we do with our thoughts? We must give shape to our ideas, go from words to action. What has happened here is something that is barely beginning and shall continue from now on. The second meeting of intellectuals for the sovereignty of the peoples of our America may well be held in Nicaragua. [Applause]

Revolutions spring up everywhere. In Libya, where I have just been, al-Qadhdhafi threatened to bomb any ship carrying nuclear arsenals that came close to the shores of Libya and to burn the oil of Saudi Arabia and then of Libya itself. And it was declared there that Libya would be the center of worldwide operations against imperialism. The struggle, then, is more international. It is worldwide.

Ayatollah Khomeini told me that all revolutions are one and when everyone, when the whole earth was liberated, then all men and women and children on earth would march hand in hand. We intellectuals have a great deal to do. It is a matter of defending Latin America and the human race. It is a matter of defending all living things on earth, of defending the earth. Defense is peace. Thank you. [Applause]



## Final Declaration Read

FL081842 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2004 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Article Read by Colombian Writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez: "Final Declaration of the Meeting of Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of Our America's Peoples"--live]

[Text] The participants in the first meeting of intellectuals for the sovereignty of our America's peoples, convoked by Casa de las Americas and held from 4 to 7 September 1981, have reaffirmed the essential nature of our unity and determined the sense of our responsibilities in these difficult times. In order to give continuity to this action, we have considered to be necessary the creation of a standing committee formed by personalities representative of our culture.

Now, when the U.S. Government is threatening not only with reintroducing in our continent the anachronistic policy of the big stick, but is also preparing its armed forces for a new war of world destruction. Our America's intellectuals are obliged to carry to the limit the commitment with our peoples and, especially with those who are facing with heroism rather than resources the immemorial oppression. Long ago our region ceased to have an open door to the metropolitan empires' outrages [Desafueros de Los Imperios Metropolitanos].

There are peoples who are now gaining their right to speak out and it is our very high responsibility to articulate and defend it. The enemy knows it and that is why it has placed all the might of its imaginative repression at the service of an inhuman operation of cultural genocide. This is the sense of the systematic campaign of slanting [the news] with which the imperialist monopolies, with the cooperation of local oligarchies and its own methods of informational imposition, are attempting to denature the cultural identity of our countries to facilitate their domination. In the face of this plot, we will defend truth, justice and beauty and not in an abstract manner, but with the determination and sentimentality required and deserved by the original personality of our nations.

Only the full exercise of sovereignty, which will make it possible to increase their immense wealth and cultural capabilities for their own good, will give our lives a solid base and a valid raison d'etre. With this creative spirit, we welcome the imminent sovereignty of Belize and pledge to see to it that the people's interests, which made it possible, will not be weakened by others who are foreign to its destiny.

With this same spirit, we repudiate most energetically the support the Reagan Administration is giving to the most barbaric regimes on the continent and denounce with indignation that the perpetrators of the cruelest acts of terrorism in the world are attempting to call terrorists the patriots who are struggling for the happiness of their peoples and for their identity and culture. As in the case of El Salvador and Guatemala whose best sons are determined to gain forever their right to be themselves at the price of the most painful sacrifices.

It is not the design of an international intrigue, as it has been made to appear, but the internal conditions of hostility and poverty to which imperialist oppression has subjected our America. The deceitful accusation of terrorists made against the

patriots of these nations seeks, among other objectives, the approval of U.S. intervention and prepare the spirits by means of the most diabolic propaganda apparatus in human history for an open aggression against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, including Mexico whose independent foreign policy deserves our recognition.

Imperialism is not an external reality foreign to the essence of underdevelopment. It is the exploitation of our resources and peoples, illegal intervention in our domestic affairs, enormous foreign debts which mortgage national sovereignty, inflation, monopolistic control of production, markets and means of information, and attempts to divide us at a time when our unity is an essential condition to make our fundamental rights valid and to make others respect them. They know this from colonized Puerto Rico to Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Haiti, whose peoples are enduring genocide under military tyrannies. In addition, this is known in the few remaining colonial enclaves in the Caribbean.

But, the present aggressive policy of imperialism reveals its weakness and not its strength. Today's world is not the one they wish for and that is why they have failed in their attempt to impede by force the liberation of the peoples, as demonstrated by the wars unleashed and lost by imperialism. The peoples are opening new paths and are rewriting their own histories, repression and violence will not stop them.

We have come from diverse lands and our views are not unanimous but these differences are far from being antagonistic and are, on the contrary, one more proof of our wealth of creation. We set aside our secondary differences and proclaim what has to unite us for the benefit of our America's peoples. From our trench of ideas, to which millions of men and women who not yet have access to culture are giving their flesh and blood, we energetically condemn the terrible arms race which is reaching never thought of limits, and in rejecting it we join all peoples on the planet, including of course the U.S. people who gave an admirable proof of courage and solidarity when they opposed the criminal aggression of their own government against Vietnam.

The decision to produce the neutron bomb, which was significantly announced on the same day of the commemoration of one more anniversary of Hiroshima, has intensified the pessimism of many sectors of international public opinion, not only with respect to the future of peace but with respect to the destiny itself of all mankind. The intellectuals, writers, and our America's artists, in the face of this serious risk of holocaust, assume with full responsibility our option for life, will not abandon it and will struggle with all our convictions, our strength, with the best reserves of the spirit to make peace reign as the only possible victory against death.

Neither the neutron bomb nor any other device of collective annihilation can be fired by itself, men are the ones who decide their mission of death. But those men, even those who have at their disposal a possibility of total destruction, can also be stopped by the peoples' clamor. It is now, therefore, when the word and image must intensify their capability of persuasion, their power of recruitment of creative forces, their sharpness in convincing all that the extermination of the human being can be avoided and must be avoided with the invincible power of intelligence. [Applause]

CSO: 3010/1769

## PLO REPRESENTATIVE NOTES U.S. AGGRESSIVENESS

FL011920 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Text] The PLO representative to the United Nations is presently in Havana for the fourth UN seminar on the Palestinian issue. Our reporter, Pedro Ventura, has interviewed him for this newscast.

[Question--in progress]...and as a form of support for the Palestinian people's struggle?

[Answer] Well, it is very important that the seminar to disseminate information on the just cause of the Palestinian people, on the Palestinian struggle and on the rights of the Palestinian people should be held here in Havana, Cuba, for the Latin American area. Cuba heads the progressive and peace-loving forces that are struggling for the inalienable rights of all peoples. That is why we are very pleased that this seminar should be held here in Havana, Cuba, with the participation of a large number of thinkers from various parts of the world.

[Question] Do you think that this seminar will lead to any specific action to support the Palestinian people's struggle?

[Answer] It is another way to disseminate information and mobilize world public opinion to support the Palestinian people's cause.

[Question] Undoubtedly, there has recently been an intensification of Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people. What, in your opinion, is the cause of this escalation of Zionist attacks on the Palestinians?

[Answer] First of all, it is simply another manifestation of the plan of the United States, of the Washington government, to increase the possibility of war over the possibility of peace. Therefore, this is completely within the framework of increased U.S. aggression and war. However, at the same time, it has a very important significance. The more we Palestinians are successful on the field of battle, in information and in diplomacy, the more the United States, through its agents, the Zionists in occupied Palestine, tries to neutralize our achievements through aggression.

CSO: 3010/1770

## VIERA SPEAKS AT OPENING SESSION OF UN SEMINAR

FL312237 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2130 GMT 31 Aug 81

[Text] Jose Raul Viera, acting Cuban foreign minister, today called to order at the palace of conventions in Havana City the fourth UN seminar on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. On behalf of the Cuban Government and people, Viera welcomed the personalities participating in the event and expressed Cuba's satisfaction for having been selected host of this meeting dealing with the defense of a cause it feels as if it were its own.

Viera said that after more than 30 years the tragedy of the Palestinian people today more than ever before needs solidarity, and stressed that imperialism not satisfied with having thrown those people out of their fatherland, today actively supports Israel in the physical liquidation of the Palestinians. The acting foreign minister denounced the vandal actions of the Zionist state, especially the attack against the Iraqi nuclear plant. He added that since President Reagan assumed power, Israeli has stepped up its criminal and expansionist actions in the Middle East.

Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has opened the fourth UN seminar on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which began in our capital today, will have a positive impact on international opinion. In a message to the seminar, he denounces the Nazi-type terrorism being exercised by Israel against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples as well as the aggression against Iraq. He says that Israel does not respect UN resolutions or of other international organizations which recognize the rights of the Palestinian people who, despite these circumstances, are determined to fight until victory. The message refers to the thousands of tons of bombs dropped over populated areas in Beirut, Lebanon, and exhorts all progressive forces in the world to denounce these crimes.

In his message, 'Arafat condemns the unlimited U.S. support to Israel.

CSO: 3010/1770



## CTC CALLS FOR SOLIDARITY WITH ANGOLAN PEOPLE

FL291531 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1402 GMT 29 Aug 81

[Text] In a communique addressed to all workers and unions in the world, the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions [CTC] has called for sincere actions of solidarity with and support for the struggle of the Angolan workers and people against the South African aggressors and their imperialist instigators. The document states that in defiance of world public opinion, once again the abhorrent Pretoria's racist regime has perpetrated one more treacherous crime by invading the People's Republic of Angola.

The communique reiterates that the CTC energetically condemns this criminal terrorist aggression of the apartheid regime at a time when the Angolan people are devoted to the reconstruction of the country. The Cuban organization demands from the racist regime and imperialism the immediate withdrawal of the troops which penetrated Angolan territory.

In another part of the communique, the CTC notes that the international community, in general, and the United Nations, in particular, have the duty to give their support to the courageous Angolan people. After stating that the Angolan people's struggle is an inseparable part of the common fight of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in an effort to consolidate their independence and sovereignty, the CTC asserts that to help Angola today is an unavoidable duty.

Elsewhere, the document indicates that the CTC supports the decision of the revolutionary government to be once again, without vacillation, at the side of the Angolan people in defense of their integrity and independence. In closing, the CTC asserts that together with the Angolan people, the Cuban workers are ready to spill their blood if necessary in the fight against the invaders.

CSO: 3010/1771

## PROTOCOLS ON FISHING SIGNED WITH VIETNAM

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 19 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Jose A. de la Osa]

[Text] The protocols produced by the working subcommittees on fisheries and science and technology of the Fifth Session of the Cuban-Vietnamese Intergovernmental Commission, held in Havana, were signed yesterday in the Simon Bolivar room of the Academy of Sciences of Cuba.

Also an agreement was initialed between the ACC [Academy of Sciences of Cuba] and the National Center for Scientific Research and the Vietnamese Committee on Social Sciences, as well as a protocol covering the 3 years 1981-83 in the fields of biology, soils and social sciences.

The working plans in the fields of fisheries and science and technology--which include communications, public health, light industry, domestic trade and others--cover a period of 2 years: 1981 and 1982.

It was divulged that the number of agreements signed between our country and the sister country of Vietnam have been increased with respect to last year and the scientific and technological collaboration in all spheres has become more profound.

Ismael Clark and Manuel Anderez, both of them vice presidents of the ACC, and Aldo Malgolles, vice minister of the fishing industry, signed the documents; Vu Dinh Cu, vice president of the Vietnam Institutes of Science, and Nguyen Van Dan, vice minister of public health, signed for Vietnam.

Manuel Anderez and Nguyen Van Dan spoke during the ceremony. Both emphasized the happy ending of the conversations and the close bonds of fraternal friendship which unite Cubans and Vietnamese.

Wilfredo Torres, president of the ACC and member of the Central Committee of the party; Ramon Darias, minister-president of the State Committee for Standardization and chairman of the Cuban delegation to the Fifth Session, were present; Faure Chomon, Cuban ambassador to Vietnam and member of the Central Committee, and Manuel Torres, vice chairman of the State Committee on economic collaboration, were also present.

Nghiem Xuan Yem, Vietnamese minister in charge of agricultural science and technology, was also present along with other companions.

12116

CSO: 3010/1644

## ECONOMIC, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ACCORD SIGNED WITH MEXICO

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 26 Jun 81 pp 1, 4

[Excerpt] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, president of the Councils of State and Ministers, was present last night at the signing of an accord on technical cooperation for planning the economic and social development of Cuba and Mexico.

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the Councils of State and of Ministers, and Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign relations, were also present at the act of initialing the document, which was signed by Humberto Perez, vice president of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Central Planning Board and Licentiate Miguel de la Madrid, Secretary of Programing and Budget of Mexico.

The accord calls for exchange of experience between the state organisms of the two countries in such working areas as the system and the process of planning, the evaluation and control of plans, the organization and administration of state enterprises, censuses and statistical inquiries and the definition of prospects for complementarity in medium and long-range plans.

Humberto Perez indicated that this accord will be of great utility in a joint examination of the possibilities of cooperation, which can be converted into a gradual integration of our economies. He added in this sense that "it is certain that there are differences in our economies but it is also certain that there is a community of interest, of mutual confidence and will."

As he analyzed the similarities between the two countries, Humberto Perez emphasized the geographical possibilities, the existence of strong public sectors in both countries, the common political stability, factors which promote an integration of our economies.

He also said that the unity achieved in the course of the revolutionary process with the sister people of Mexico has been secured by the proper and firm attitude of the government of that country which has maintained relations in the most critical moments and has been the only government of Latin America with which we have had access throughout the revolutionary process in Cuba.

Miguel de la Madrid, for his part, declared that this accord is one more act to confirm the unbreakable friendship between Mexico and Cuba. He added that the Mexican Government has upheld a foreign policy based on the principles of self-determination of peoples and of rejecting all intervention.

Miguel de la Madrid explained that in his country a system of planning development is being carried out to permit rationalizing and executing economic, social and political improvements.

The Mexican secretary of programing and budget praised Cuba's planned system and called its results excellent for the well-being of social and economic development. He added that Cuba's spirit of solidarity for economic aid to other countries is noteworthy.

Also present for the signing ceremony were Jose R. Fernandez, vice-president of the Council of Ministers and minister of education; Asela de los Santos, vice minister of education; Cuban Ambassador to Mexico Fernando Lopez Muino; Mexican Ambassador to Cuba Gonzalo Martinez Carbala; and the other members of the delegation from the Mexican Secretariat of Programing and Budget.

12116

CSO: 3010/1644



PROBLEMS NOTED IN KEEPING MINERS IN MOA

Havana TRABAJADORES in Spanish 10 Jun 81 p 4

[Article by Rebeca Antunuez]

[Text] Coincident with the advent of the revolution itself, action was taken--and is being taken--to introduce the most effective techniques to protect the life and health of the workers and, as is known, this represents a cost of millions and millions of pesos which are invested in social programs that are not directly productive.

However, at present and in spite of the funding available for worker safety, and hygiene, such activities can be described as inadequate.

According to the Central Report made by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro to the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba there are limitations and deficiencies in meeting safety and hygiene standards and supplying means and equipment to the workers, which in large measure are the responsibility of state organizations.

Today it is easy to detect numerous infractions of work safety and hygiene laws, and there is much testimony thereof.

For example, workers in the housing sector of the Mining Services Enterprise located in Moa, a place of great economic importance because of its nickel ore resources, are not interested in remaining there for any length of time.

Only the high political conscience they have acquired keeps them on their jobs, in the hope that their most pressing needs will be met.

This is not a question of obtaining living standards above the present economic realities; what is involved is reaching solutions which will make it possible for them to have a more respectable sojourn while they are laboring "at the bottom of the ladder."

During a simple tour of the living quarters of the enterprise's workers, one is struck by the difficult living conditions of those men who for months or years work far from their homes.

Such a situation is all the more incomprehensible since it is the Mining Services Enterprise itself which is responsible for hundreds of facilities to house the men and women who work in Moa.

The modern buildings which that collective is constructing for those living in the housing facilities of other sectors cannot be compared with the accommodations they build for themselves.

During a brief conversation with Marquis Toisac Carcasses, secretary general of the trade union office of the Maintenance and Mining Services Enterprise, we learned that this economic entity has construction resources and specialized personnel capable of renovating or building new facilities to improve the living conditions of the workers; however, in practice neither is being done.

"In each division of the living quarters, which we pretentiously call rooms," Toissac said, "up to 10 workers sleep on beds with mattresses that are in bad shape and springs that are worse."

That situation is becoming increasingly more difficult, as the enterprise has about 800 lodger-workers.

The standard of living of those workers is worsening along with the social conditions of the town of Moa, which, in spite of its economic importance, has only one movie, one pizzeria and one boat which transports hundreds of workers to the beaches; logically the constant use of the boat often results in its being inoperable.

After the workday, the only thing left for the people of Moa is to open their domino boards which are almost the only diversion they have until bedtime.

The conditions in which the lodgers of the Mining Maintenance and Services Enterprise live are readily observable and are mentioned in letters to family members. The workers sit on the floor using their legs as tables to write their letters.

Before concluding these remarks, we must add a few final words from Marquis: "The board of the enterprise is doing everything it can to keep its technicians and managers from deserting the mining projects; and, to this end, the workers are given houses. Before that, we asked ourselves one question: 'Is no one interested in the fact that our workers are leaving? Is no one going to try to stop the exodus which has existed for years?'"

It would be an oversimplification to think that these problems can be easily and quickly resolved; however, we feel that it is possible, without investing large sums of money, to offer better living conditions to those who are responsible for the well-being of personnel, including miners working on one of the revolution's most important projects.

8143

CSO: 3010/1684

## PERSONNEL HEAD URGED TO REDUCE BUREAUCRACY

Havana TRABAJADORES in Spanish 2 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by Caridad Lafita]

[Text] "Every bureaucratic mechanism must be eliminated from personnel work. Austerity, restraint and rigorous discipline should make the chief of personnel a guardian of labor legislation in his center." These statements were made by Comrade Osmany Cienfuegos, member of the party Politburo and secretary of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers, in his summary of comments to the First National Meeting of Chiefs of Personnel.

Referring to the important functions of this sector which applies labor and social legislation intimately linked to the country's economic and political development, the party Politburo member emphasized the need for directors in this function to be duly qualified and to have the class feeling which derives from their dealings with workers.

The following persons shared the speakers platform: Joaquin Benavides, alternate member of the Central Committee and minister-chairman of the CETSS [State Committee for Labor and Social Security]; Euclides Vazquez, section chief in the Economic Department of the Central Committee; Belisa Warman, chairwoman of the Meeting Organizing Committee; and Constantino Hermida, member of the national CTC [Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions] secretariat; and government and trade union leaders.

During the meeting, special presentations were given by Col Armando Truti, deputy chief of the General Staff for Organization and Mobilization, who spoke about application of the Military Registration System, and Comrade Orlando Carnota, member of the advisory group of the Council of Ministers Executive Committee Secretariat, who explained aspects of the General System of Working With Cadres.

The plenary session approved the resolutions adopted by the four committees which debated the subjects of functions: employment and labor resources, discipline, wage legislation, social security and welfare; structure: whose principal proposition was integration of an area of human resources with organization of work and wages, safety and hygiene, personnel, cadres and training; advisory services and propagation and the training of these administrative heads.

8143

CSO: 3010/1684

## MAIN POINTS OF GENERAL WAGE REFORM NOTED

Havana TRABAJADORES in Spanish 9 Jun 81 p 2

[Article by Jaime Gravalosa]

[Text] On 14 February 1980, the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers approved the General Wage Reform, a measure which, complemented by the General Price Reform, will constitute the basic pillar in the establishment of the material-technical base of the Cuban socialist society.

As regards wage reform, all workers, service personnel in the administrative sector, technicians and directors will receive an increase of about 600 million pesos, not including in this figure extra income received as bonuses.

This event in itself is unprecedented in the history of countries in the Western Hemisphere: workers did not have to strike and the trade unions did not have to make demands. Only a socialist revolution can take a step of this kind.

While the Reagan government is decreasing social security payments to be unemployed, socialist Cuba is raising the incomes of workers and, in spite of the fact that the American press is concealing Cuba's wage reform, the truth will unfailingly come out.

In our country, we have publicized this aspect of wage reform, although its objectives and unusual characteristics and the manner in which they will impact on the national economy have not been adequately brought out.

The reform is not only a legislated increase in wages but also a realignment of the wage system which derives from the socialist principle of rewarding everyone on the basis of his contribution to society in terms of quantity and quality.

Independently of wages for regular work, which can rise or drop depending on whether or not the goal is met, general categories are established, such as pay for unusual or special working conditions of particular occupational specialties, through the use of special regulations.

Therefore, without denying that the economy is a whole made up of interrelated categories to a greater or lesser degree, there is a need to weigh the relative importance of every industry to the economy and the role in economic development in 1981 and subsequent years.



It is also necessary to be familiar with the production process in each of the sectors, their various interrelationships and the figures [Indices] of the technical-economic plan of the enterprise to place the principal accent where it is needed.

An example of this is references to the degree to which final agricultural yield figures measure up to the goals set when we are dealing with the regulation on wage bonuses to workers in sugar enterprises.

Another example is maritime workers of the Mambisa Navigation and Caribbean Navigation enterprises. Among other factors, account is taken of the increase for years of service and the bonus for touching port farthest from home base during international crossings.

In both cases, there has been a significant increase in the efficiency and productivity of sugarcane and sugar mill workers; and there has been more signing-on and discipline in the work of ship crews.

Wage reform is also an incentive to technical improvement, as the wage scale pays more to a worker who acquires new skills.

Workers will benefit not only from wage increases, bonuses and material incentives; they will also get better quality goods at stores, thanks to the impact of wage reform on other production sectors.

Although in some work sectors, particularly the technical sector, wage reform is still in the process of application, its effects can already be seen in the results of the recently concluded sugar harvest.

8143

CSO: 3010/1683

ACTION URGED TO SAFEGUARD SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM

Havana TRABAJADORES in Spanish 9 Jun 81 p 1

[Editorial: "We Must Take Energetic and Drastic Action Against Violations of the Social Security Law"]

[Text] Experiences acquired and changes made in the political-administrative division and in the Economy Direction System, in short, the development attained by our socialist state, have made it possible for all of us to be protected by a really advanced social security system.

The social security program and the social welfare program make up the system which offers generous protection to the worker in the event of illness, off-the-job or job-related accidents, maternity, disability, old age and, in case of death, to his family.

The legal basis of the Social Security System is to be found in the Constitution of the republic and Law 24 (1979). When both applicable documents were in their draft stage, they were analyzed, discussed and approved by virtually all the country's workers.

Therefore, our Social Security System expresses the will of our party, our government and our people.

Is there then a single administrative official who can feel blameless if in the sector under his direction some of the basic precepts of Law 24 are not complied with? Is there a single trade union leader who can feel that he has done his revolutionary duty if he calmly lives with failures to comply with the terms of Law 24? Is there a single member of the institutions which maintain, reinforce and control the socialist legality who can feel satisfied if an important constitutional mandate is not complied with? No one can feel blameless, satisfied or calm.

In the application of the new Social Security System, and more specifically in the social security administration, situations have arisen which must be eradicated as soon as possible.

Let us summarize the problems: in many cases the forms for certification of periods of service and wages earned up to 1979 have not been completed in the specified time

frame or with the required exactitude months after the legal deadline. There are administrations which maintain an attitude of unconcern and neglect, which take up this problem with exasperating slowness and, on occasion, do not collect existing information, interpret the methodology poorly and make mistakes which result in certification of less service time than that really earned by the worker.

Something similar is happening with respect to certification of periods of service and wages after 1980, with the further irritation in this case that the administrations only had to fill in a card with the most recent information. However, this was not done in all cases, was done poorly on many occasions and worst of all there are many units, enterprises and establishments in which the administrations have not presented this document to the workers so that they can review it and sign it.

Such documents are far from being a simple bureaucratic procedure; they are instead the most effective means the Social Security System has of eliminating, in the future, problems and difficulties workers have had to face in the last few years in the processing of their pensions because in many cases it has been impossible to obtain the documents substantiating time and wages. It is not relevant to analyze the many causes of that phenomenon; however, it is still sad and inappropriate that at the end of a long life of work one at times has to be subjected to an exhausting process to retire. Or what is worse, one has to resign himself to losing part of his service credit, with the consequent effect on the amount of benefits he is to receive.

It is relevant to say, however briefly, that the National Archives, which has the responsibility inter alia of handling certifications of claims for Social Security purposes, is far from able to respond to the existing demand, including cases pending classification. Steps must be taken to prevent the just irritation the National Archives causes among the workers for providing deficient service in this regard.

There is also many violations of the deadlines set by Law 24 for the processing of pension cases, particularly the time frames established for the processing of pensions based on the death of a worker.

Last year, the trade union movement uncovered 1,566 death cases in which the administrations had failed to meet the 45-day deadline set by the law for the preparation and presentation of pension cases. In Havana city, during the first quarter of this year, in only 15 percent of the death cases did the administration complete the processing in terms of time and form.

These negative phenomena appear logically in the budgeted enterprises and units; however, there is a general impression that the organizations have poorly structured this activity and that they have not adequately conferred upon this sector the get-the-job-done policy which activates our party.

In the last 6 months of this year, trade union inspections will determine in detail where, how and to what point the violations we have mentioned are having an impact.

Now we must work endlessly to remedy the situation. There should not be a single collective agreement which does not include strict fulfillment of the requirements of the Social Security and Social Welfare Systems, particularly in the areas we have pointed out.

Proven failures to comply with the Social Security System should be discussed immediately by the trade union organization with the higher administrative office which is responsible for such failures; and, when no satisfaction is obtained to file the complaint called for with the public prosecutor's office for violation of socialist laws.

The complaint should be taken to the highest level necessary to prevent negligence, lack of capability, irresponsibility and lack of sensitivity to prejudice satisfaction of the rights granted to workers, who, by their efforts and sweat, as activists of socialist construction, have made possible the advances expressed in the same Social Security Law 24.

8143

CSO: 3010/1683



## BRIEFS

WORLDWIDE SOLIDARITY WITH LIBYA--Melba Hernandez, president of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization [AALAPSO], read an AALAPSO communique at a special event here in Havana, urging all of the world's progressive and democratic forces to reaffirm their solidarity with the Libyan people, who are faced with the hostile policy and destabilizing plans of the United States. The document says that this campaign includes the many CIA plots to assassinate Libyan leader Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, the U.S. 6th fleet's repeated maneuvers in the Mediterranean and the recent downing of two Libyan fighterplanes by aircraft from this U.S. force. Also present were (Ali Ojaikli), secretary of the people's committee of the (Libyan People's Bureau) in this capital, and Claudio Ramos of the General Department of Foreign Relations of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee. [Text] [PA291854 Havana International Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 29 Aug 81]

SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE--The executive secretariat of the Afro-Asian-Latin American People's Solidarity Organization, AALAPSO, has called on revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving men and women to double their solidarity with the Chilean people. This is stated in a declaration read by Melba Hernandez, secretary general of AALAPSO, during a ceremony held in this capital at AALAPSO offices to mark the beginning of the worldwide drive of solidarity with the Chilean people. The declaration says that the last appeal made by President Salvador Allende on 11 September 1973 acquires new form in the actions of the anti-fascist resistance. It adds that the cry for unity and intransigent combat against the military Junta led by Augusto Pinochet is louder than ever. [Text] [FL051405 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1309 GMT 5 Sep 81]

TOBACCO PRODUCTION GOALS SET--In an evaluation of nationwide emulation in the tobacco sector, Jose Ramon Machado, member of the Communist Party of Cuba's politburo, has said that the historic feat achieved in the latest harvest by the Pinar Del Rio Tobacco producers should be regarded as an example. He noted that the results achieved in the oipaqoiq period in tobacco sowing, production and yield by the Pinar Del Rio producers should be considered as the basic indicators for future harvests. He expressed the need to plan, to save resources and to enhance the organization and productivity of this sector. He said that some crops yielded up to 562 quintales of light sun-cured tobacco per caballeria and up to 521 quintales of Virginia tobacco per caballeria. He noted that these average production goals can be achieved through better cropping and care and a collective effort. [Text] [FL08641 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 7 Sep 81]

SUGARCANE HARVESTING MEETING HAILED--Pedro Miret, member of Cuba's Communist Party politburo, has termed the first national meeting on mechanization of the sugarcane harvest, which concluded yesterday at the Maj Gen Calixto Garcia Politechnical Institute in Holguin, as very positive for promoting the development of sugar production. He noted that both the meeting and the process that preceded it were marked by massive participation through nearly 800 assemblies held in the provinces and through sound proposals designed to make the best possible use of available sugarcane-cutting equipment. On reporting that the mechanization of the sugarcane harvesting has increased by 40 percent nationwide. Miret lauded the assistance of Soviet technicians and experts who work at the Holguin Harvester Factory, which was built with Soviet cooperation. Discussed at the meeting were, among others, issues related to technical problems, work organization, equipment maintenance and repair, supplies and working conditions stemming from increased mechanization in sugarcane harvesting. [Text] [FL071500 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 7 Sep 81]

U.S. SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA CONDEMNED--Today Cuba condemned U.S. support for South Africa in its aggression against Angola and demanded the withdrawal of the racist troops raiding Angolan territory. Cuban delegate Carlos Zamora made a speech in Berlin's seminar on mass communications means and the international mobilization against apartheid. Zamora referred to South Africa's aggression against Angola and noted Cuba's position reflected in the declaration of the Cuban Revolutionary Government of 27 August of this year, in which our country's solidarity with the Angolan people is reiterated. After pointing out the coincidence of the commemoration of the international day of peace and the 20th nonaligned countries movement anniversary, the Cuban representative noted the world role played by the movement and its struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid. Zamora stressed the nonaligned countries' solidarity with the South African people in their struggle against the apartheid regime. He also denounced that the support given by the United States and other Western superpowers to Israel contribute to make possible the existence of that opprobrious regime. [Text] [FL012347 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2300 GMT 1 Sep 81]

U.S. VETO OF UN RESOLUTION--Once again the U.S. Government has run to the aid of the criminal, racist regime of South Africa by vetoing a resolution at the UN Security Council condemning the armed invasion by Pretoria forces against Angola. The U.S. veto was Washington's last-ditch resort on seeing itself completely alone in the voting, which was 13 in favor of the resolution, 1 abstention and the U.S. vote against, which invalidated the decision. [Excerpt] [FL011110 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 1 Sep 81]

SPEEDY SANCTIONS AGAINST S. AFRICA URGED--Cuban Foreign Minister Isidora Malmierca has urged the UN General Assembly to move rapidly in applying obligatory global sanctions against South Africa, including an oil embargo. Speaking at the eighth session of the Organization of African Unity and the nonaligned countries movement to analyze the Namibian situation, Malmierca stated that the assembly should demand from all UN members to stop economic, political and military cooperation with South Africa. The Cuban foreign minister noted the alliance between the United States and the racist South Africans, openly declared with unheard of cynicism and as a brutal challenge from imperialism to African governments, the nonaligned countries movement and the overwhelming majority of the states that belong to the United Nations. Malmierca also referred to the "Ocean Drive 81" naval maneuvers and noted that the only need to hold such showy naval exercises off the African Coast was to vainly try to intimidate African countries. [Text] [FL051351 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 5 Sep 81]

SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS APPROVE FINAL REPORT--The final report of the Fourth UN Seminar on the Palestinian issue, which concluded today in this capital, was approved after being extensively discussed by the participants. The document states that a large part of Latin America is either poorly informed or misinformed with respect to the Palestinian problem and only receive news favoring Israel, due to that, the seminar has recommended that concrete measures be taken to change the situation through a greater dissemination by the United Nations of news on the reality and nature of the Palestinian people's struggle and their *raison d'etre* as a people. The seminar concluded with expressions of gratitude by the participants to the Cuban Government for the assistance and cooperation lent so that the conclave could be successfully held in Havana. [Text] [FL042041 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2007 GMT 4 Sep 81]

VECINO ALEGRET CLOSES PALESTINIAN SEMINAR--Fernando Vecino Alegret, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and minister of higher education, ratified Cuba's solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people for the conquest and exercise of their inalienable rights. In his closing remarks to the UN seminar on the Palestinian question, Vecino Alegret said that the defense of peace includes solidarity with Palestine and the defense of its legitimate rights. The party leader said that the Palestinian drama is nothing more than an attempt to turn the Arab countries into neocolonies at the service of U.S. imperialism, which uses Zionism as a spearhead. Vecino Alegret underscored that only the solidarity of the Arabs with their Palestinian brothers indissolubly linked to the socialist and progressive forces of the whole world has been able to halt imperialist domination over that area of the world. He emphasized that those who deny Palestine its inalienable right as a nation are the same ones who are trying to perpetuate colonialism in Puerto Rico and supporting South Africa in its racist and aggressive policy. Lastly, Vecino Alegret issued a call to close ranks with the PLO to efface the crime against Palestine and make it possible for its children to regain the luminous future they have earned with their heroism. [Text] [FL051334 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 5 Sep 81]

MONTANE MEETS WITH UN OFFICIAL--At this capital's palace of conventions, Jesus Montane Cropesa, alternate member of the PCC politburo, has received (Masamra Sare), chairman of the UN special committee on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The also ambassador of Senegal to the United Nations and chairman of the fourth UN seminar on the Palestinian people's rights, which began in Havana today, thanked the Cuban Government for hosting the event as well as the courtesies and services offered its participants. [Text] [FL312251 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2130 GMT 31 Aug 81]

INTELLECTUALS TO DEFEND CUBA, NICARAGUA--The intellectuals currently meeting in Havana are ready to once again come to our territory or to sister Nicaragua in case of an imperialist aggression against either of the two countries. This was one of the agreements adopted at this morning's plenary session of the meeting of intellectuals for the sovereignty of the peoples of our America. The participants of this important cultural meeting also approved declarations of solidarity with the struggle for national liberation of the Salvadoran, Ecuadorean and Puerto Rican peoples. Press conferences will be held this afternoon concerning the possibilities of imperialist intervention, the internationalization of the conflict in Central America, the Haitian regime and present U.S. policy toward Caribbean. Gabriel Garcia Marquez' new book, "Chronicle of an Anticipated Death" [Cronica de una Muerte Anunciada], will also be released this afternoon. The closing ceremony is scheduled for 1600 hours. The Jose Marti Order will be awarded to our national poet, Nicolas Guillen, this evening. [Text] [FL071814 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 7 Sep 81]

## REACTION TO U.S. DENIALS OF INVASION PLANS

FL281842 Bridgetown CANA in English 1827 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] St Georges, Grenada, 28 Aug (CANA)--Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) has dismissed as "without substance" denials from two American diplomatic mission in the region that the United States was planning an invasion of the island.

The American embassies in Barbados and Guyana on successive days denied that recent U.S. military exercises on the Island of Vieques, off Puerto Rico, were in any way connected with any planned invasion of the island.

In a statement last night, the PRG said that yesterday's denials sharply contradicted assertions it attributed to U.S. Rear Admiral McKerzie, commander of the Caribbean contingency joint staff force.

The PRG said that Rear Admiral McKenzie had spoken of the "U.S. capability to respond in the Caribbean," adding that "he emphasized that Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua are practically one country and that the situation in respect of those countries is a political-military one."

"The denials...contain nothing of substance which refute the charge we have made that the exercise on the Island of Vieques is a practice run for the direct invasion of Grenada by U.S. troops," the PRG said.

The PRG said that it was well known that the pattern of stating objectives, initiating aggressive activities and then officially denying the statement of the objectives and the carrying out of the activities was typical of the international conduct of the United States.

Citing U.S. dealings with Guatemala as an example of this "international conduct" the PRG said that from 1950 to 1954 the United States was engaged in a massive destabilization of the government of Guatemala. Following this, the PRG continued, the CIA moved in mercenaries and counterrevolutionaries and overthrew the government while the U.S. Government issued emphatic denials of any complicity in these actions.

The overthrow of the Chilean Government of Salvador Allende by the United States was accomplished by similar methods in 1973, the PRG added, while the U.S. Government continued to deny involvement until that involvement was exposed by investigations of the U.S. Senate. The statement said that Grenada had been experiencing similar destabilization as was suffered by the progressive governments of Guatemala and Chile and "the present events, therefore, fit into a logical and consistent pattern."



## BRIEFS

MILITARY EXERCISES--Georgetown, Guyana, 29 Aug (AFP)--Military exercises are under way today throughout Grenada, whose prime minister recently warned that the United States was planning to invade the Caribbean Island-state. Monitored reports said that the military, the peoples' militia and the police were all involved in the maneuvers, "in order to be prepared for any emergency in the event of an attack by imperialist forces." Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and members of his cabinet have said that the United States planned to invade the 133-square-mile island, which has a population of about 100,000. U.S. ambassadors in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago have denied Grenada's charges. The Bishop Government, which took power in Marcy 1979 after Prime Minister Eric Gairy's elected pro-west government was overthrown, has close ties to the governments of the Soviet Union, Nicaragua and Cuba. [Text] [PA300350 Paris AFP in English 0239 GMT 30 Aug 81]

CSO: 3025/1028

## PPP SAYS U.S. LOAN DENIAL DUE TO CORRUPTION

FL311951 Bridgetown CANA in English 1709 GMT 31 Aug 81

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana 31 Aug (CANA)--Guyana's official opposition has charged that corruption in government here was the real reason for the U.S. decision to block a 20 million dollar (U.S.) loan to the local agricultural sector. The money was to come from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) for the People's National Congress (PNC) government of President Forbes Burnham.

The Marxist People Progressive Party (PPP) said in a statement that the American decision showed that "even the United States, which brought the PNC to power, is aware that there is no proper audit and control of public funds, that corruption is a way of life from top to bottom." The PPP referred to a release from the U.S. International Communication Agency (ICA) which said the U.S. objections were that the loan would have been used primarily to spur rice production, and it could not be effectively monitored by the Inter-American Development Bank.

The PNC has accused the United States of inconsistency and hypocrisy, arguing that Washington was sponsoring agricultural development and yet blocking the loan. Supporting Guyana's International Monetary Fund (IMF) extended fund facility and world bank loans and yet vetoing the IDB loan.

The PPP said it "is aware that the United States is pushing private instead of state enterprise, and agricultural instead of balanced industrial/agricultural development." The PPP said it "has consistently warned that no doubt imperialism is beginning to realize that racial and political discrimination, corruption, lack of democracy and minority rule cannot produce results." The PPP again called for a broad-based truly representative national patriotic front government with a democratic anti-imperialist and socialist oriented program.

CSO: 3025/1028

## DECREE 14-54 BRINGS COUNTRY TO BRINK OF ECONOMIC DISASTER

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 4 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Miguel C. Bendeck: "Decree 14-54 Keeps Us on the Brink of Economic Disaster"]

[Text] More than 50 million lempiras were lost in exports.  
It would be a serious mistake to close the border with Guatemala.  
The Constituent Assembly must review the effects of the decree.

Tegucigalpa-- Honduras has failed to export about 50 million lempiras since the measures included in Decree 14-54 took effect and the administration is having tremendous economic problems in meeting its commitments due to the drop in revenues.

At the end of the first 3 months of implementation of this government measure, industrialist Miguel C. Bendeck prepared a competent analysis of the economic consequences of those measures. Speaking first of the results of Decree 14-54, he said: "Unfortunately I must tell you that the results, now that Decree 14-54 has been in effect for 3 months, have been negative and unfavorable and the benefits which we expected to derive from it did not materialize. On the contrary, instead of benefits, that decree has made the crisis worse; it increased unemployment, it paralyzed our exports to Central America, and it increased our commercial deficit. I can tell you with complete certainty that there is trouble among the population."

"On top of all that I must point out," the former government official said, "that, contrary to what we had been hoping for, treasury revenues have declined and the government is short of funds in coming through on its most urgent obligations; the customs office is jammed with goods while importers cannot or do not want to retrieve them. This quite logically has caused a decline in the supply of very many daily necessities; on top of that, the cost of living has risen at an annual rate of more than 25 percent. Even more seriously, industrial production has been severely affected and, even though one might try to conceal this, it has been necessary to discharge vast numbers of workers. The spread of strikes and strike threats, which we have seen lately, are the consequences of this same inflationary phenomenon."

"As the days pass," commented Bendeck, "the problem is getting worse and the situation is becoming more critical; if corrective measures, as required by the situation, are not taken, then we may see convulsive phenomena of a social and political character."

"Our international reserves continue to be in a critical state and domestic savings have shrunk while private and government banks continue in a state of insolvency," the industrialist added.

"The total paralysis of our exports to Central American can be termed to be extremely serious and during the months that Decree 14-54 has been in effect, we failed to export no less than 50 millions lempiras. To illustrate that situation, I can tell you that, before Decree 14-54 took effect, commercial relations between Honduras and Guatemala revealed a ratio of 1:1.50; now, following the paralysis of our exports in that direction, the ratio is 1:40, in other words, for every lempira which we export, they now sell us 40 lempiras," the former deputy minister pointed out.

If the decree we are talking about has been so negative for the country's economy, what, do you believe, should be the solution that would enable our economic system to return to normalcy?

The former government official replied:

"Before answering your question, allow me to point out that I have read that some high public administration officials declared that the solution to the problem is 'to close the border to products coming from Guatemala.' As it turned out, this 'closing' is supposed to prohibit imports of products from Guatemala totally. If a measure of that magnitude were to be taken, the consequences for Honduras would be disastrous not only in economic terms but also in political terms. This would be a kind of declaration of economic warfare against a country with whom we have maintained cordial and mutually necessary relationships of all kinds.

"In economic terms, this would be harmful to Honduras because we would fail to export something like 100 million lempiras per year to Guatemala. Quite logically, with its border closed to its products, Guatemala would not simply stand by and watch and Nicaragua and Costa Rica would exploit the economic situation to take similar measures against Honduras."

Bendeck added that "closing the border to imports from Guatemala would force us to import from third countries those medicines, raw materials, and daily necessities which, before that, we got from Guatemala and we would have to pay for them in dollars instead of lempiras, as we did before Decree 14-54 took effect; this would cause a further decline in our international reserves. Closing the border to imports from Guatemala would produce a frightful state of smuggling which would require an army of inspectors and customs officers along our entire border with Guatemala and even then we would not manage to stop smuggling."

"But perhaps the most harmful effect to Honduras deriving from the closing of the border to products from Guatemala would come in political terms. In view of the current convulsion which Central America is experiencing and by virtue of our geographic location, bordering on three countries, from the geopolitical angle, it would be advisable for Honduras to keep Guatemala as an ally and not as an adversary since there is a very close connection between the economic aspects and the political aspects."



"Now, to answer your question, it seems to me that the solution to this deadlock lies first of all in the recognition, by the executive branch and the National Constituent Assembly, of the fact that the promulgation of Decree 14-54, as it was drafted and applied, was a mistake because, in addition to violating international treaties, such as bilateral trade agreements, it did not yield the hoped-for benefits or results.

"Allow me to quote a Chinese proverb: 'The man who makes a mistake and who does not correct it is making another mistake.' In a similar manner, a mistake is not corrected by making another, more serious mistake, in other words, the closing of the border to products from Guatemala.

"As I see it, the solution would be to take the following measures or adopt the following resolutions:

- "1. Immediately reduce public spending as recommended by the IMF.
- ' 2. Immediately implement true government austerity and cut waste, extravagance, bureaucracy, and everything that signifies an increase in the rate of inflation.
- "3. Drastically raise import duties on all those articles which are superfluous, luxurious, or unnecessary.
- "4. Through practical and realistic measures stimulate everything that would signify production and adequately protect that production.
- "5. Revise Decree 14-54, dropping the implementation of the 10-percent duty on imports coming from Central America.
- "6. Revise Decree 14-54, dropping the collection of the 5-percent duty on imports of machinery and equipment currently interfering with production activities, both industrial and agricultural.
- "7. Apply an additional 5-percent on top of the current income tax."

"In conclusion, I want to take this opportunity," the industrialist said, "to urge the National Constituent Assembly to appoint a commission as soon as possible to investigate the real way in which Decree 14-54 has negatively affected the country's economy; I would also like to urge the National Constituent Assembly, finally, to assume its proper responsibility."

"Maintaining silence or continuing with the current situation of indcision would only bring more trouble among the population and a deterioration in the already stifling economic, social, and political situation in the country."

Should the border with Guatemala be closed, as a businessman said recently?

The interviewee answered: "The reader knows that this report, to the effect that businessmen support the idea of closing the border, was 'planned' and perhaps paid for by a single businessman. The truth is that businessmen cannot support a measure of this kind, such as the closing of the border to products from Guatemala, because it would in every way be harmful to the economic and political interests of Honduras."

## SHEARER, LESOTHO DIPLOMAT DISCUSS CURRENT ISSUES

FL281822 Kingston DAILY GLEANER in English 24 Aug 81 p 20

[Text] Jamaica's firm commitment to the antiapartheid struggle was again re-emphasised by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Hugh Shearer, during discussions with Lesotho's first high commissioner to Jamaica, Mr Mothusi T. Mashologu.

The meeting took place at the ministry of foreign affairs, New Kingston, on Wednesday.

During the meeting, Mr Shearer referred to Jamaica's opposition to the recent tour of New Zealand by the South African rugby team, as well as Jamaica's ban on trade with South Africa. He emphasised Jamaica's strong stand against apartheid and Jamaica's support for the struggle for Namibia's independence as also the efforts for better economic terms for third world countries.

Discussing Jamaica's Lesotho relations, the foreign affairs minister made special mention of his personal association with representatives of that country during meetings of the ACP [African, Caribbean Pacific countries]/EEC and nonaligned movement, as well as the support for landlocked countries in the law of the sea negotiations.

Mr Mashologu told the deputy prime minister that his country was most appreciative of Jamaica's support. He spoke of the need to strengthen relations between Jamaica and Lesotho and raised the question of cooperation in the areas of tourism and public information.

Earlier in the discussions, Mr Mashologu brought the minister of foreign affairs up to date on current events in Southern Africa as they affected his country.

The high commissioner, who is resident in Ottawa, left the island last week, a news release from the foreign affairs ministry said.

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## JAMAICA 'OUTRAGED' AT S. AFRICAN INVASION OF ANGOLA

FL281816 Bridgetown CANA in English 1649 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, 28 Aug (CANA)--Jamaica says it is outraged at South Africa's invasion of Southern Angola and was supporting the Angolan call for a meeting of the UN Security Council to deal with the crisis and the threat posed to international peace.

South African troops moved into Angola Monday in what Pretoria claimed was an operation to destroy bases of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO)--the recognized representative of the Namibian people. South Africa today said that it had begun to withdraw its troops, and in New York there were expectations that the security council would convene.

In a statement last night, the Jamaica foreign ministry said that the South African incursion had again demonstrated the disregard of the country's white racist government "for international opinion and its open defiance of the United Nations and the principles enshrined in its charter.

South Africa continues to defy UN resolutions that it give up Namibia (South-West Africa) which it had administered under an old League of Nations charter.

The statement noted that South African intransigence had blocked arrangements for Namibian independence agreed on by the United Nations. And the use of Namibian territory as the channel for the last "aggression" against Angola compounded South Africa's defiance and the illegality of its action.

Said the statement: "The Jamaican Government is outraged by the current invasion of Angolan territory by the military forces of the fascist regime in South Africa, and strongly condemns this latest act of aggression which is a flagrant breach of the territorial integrity of Angola." The invasion, Jamaica said, "unquestionably poses a threat to international peace and security."

In 1975 Angola, with the aid of Cuban troops, successfully fought off a South African invasion. Since then the South Africans have made sporadic forays into Angola, but nothing of the magnitude of this week's invasion.

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## CONSUMER PRICE INDEX RISES 1.4 PERCENT IN FIRST HALF OF 1981

FL022339 Bridgetown CANA in English 2253 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Kingstown, Jamaica, 2 Sep (CANA)--Jamaica's consumer price index rose by a mere 1.4 percent for the first half of this year compared to a 16.1 percent for the corresponding period in 1980, Minister of State in Finance Ministry St Claire Shirley said today. Mr Shirley was outlining to Caribbean Community (CARICOM) finance ministers and their representatives now meeting here the economic strategies being implemented by the 10-month-old Seaga government, and the successes to date. Said Mr Shirley: "The most tangible success so far achieved by the new policies is in the area of prices. The consumer price index shows that prices rose by just 1.4 percent for the first half of 1981 compared with an increase of 16.1 percent in the first half of 1980." Inflation last year was 28 percent, he added.

Mr Shirley said that estimates of gross domestic product for 1981 indicated a halt in the continuous downward trend of the past years. The economy declined 5.4 percent during fiscal year 1980-81. He said that output in the manufacturing sector would be the same as in 1980.

Non-traditional manufacturers grew by 15.4 percent last year to reach 156.6 million dollars (U.S.), and this was despite the fact that factories were producing at 40 percent capacity. The reason for the slow growth in the manufacturing sector, Mr Shirley said, was because the 698 million dollar (U.S.) balance of payments agreement with the international monetary fund (IMF) had been finalized only in April.

"As a consequence, the raw material requirements of the manufacturing sector could only begin to be addressed since about mid-year," Mr Shirley said. He said, however, that agriculture was projected to register an advance over 1980 while the construction industry would show "reasonable growth."

The major agricultural crops, sugar and bananas, were in a sling. This year only 216,000 tons of sugar was expected to be produced against 247,000 tons last year. Bananas were expected to be no more, and maybe even less than last year's 33,000 long tons, the minister disclosed.

CSO: 3025/1028



## BRIEFS

INVESTMENT CLEARING HOUSE LAUNCHED--Kingston, Jamaica, 2 Sep (CANA)--Jamaica's Prime Minister Edward Seaga says that his government has received 408 investment proposals, with a projected capital outlay of 1.1 billion dollars (one JCA dollar: 56 cents U.S.), since it came to office 10 months ago. Mr Seaga made the disclosure last night when he spoke at the official launching of Jamaica National Investment Promotions Limited (JNIP)--a newly-created agency which is to be the central clearing house for all private investment proposals here. The agency will move investment projects from the point of inquiry to implementation, directing investors to appropriate channels along the way. Mr Seaga told the launching ceremony that the proposals were 100 more than a month ago, and that 13 producing garments, plastic, furniture, ceramic tiles and horticulture had actually been implemented. Fifteen other projects had received approval and should be implemented within the new one to 5 months. Mr Seaga said that of the total projects, 244 were foreign for which the capital investment outlay was estimated at 737 million dollars. The 164 put up by local entrepreneurs represented a projected investment of 433 million dollars (J). If all the projects were implemented there were employment possibilities for 25,000 people. However, the prime minister warned that it would take up to 3 years for some of the projects to be implemented. [Text] [FL022333 Bridgetown CANA in English 2308 GMT 2 Sep 81]

U.S. 'HOSTILITY' TOWARD GRENADA DEPLORED--Kingston, Jamaica, 29 Aug (CANA)--The official opposition, the People's National Party (PNP) today said that it was alarmed by "the continued threats and hostile language" being used by the United States against Grenada. Its concern, the party said, had grown more grave with reports of a U.S. military exercise on Vieques, a small island off Puerto Rico. The PNP said it hoped that the exercise was not a practice run for the invasion of Grenada. Grenada has said that the exercise was part of the buildup for its invasion, but the Americans denied this. Said the PNP: "We condemn all intimidatory practices in the Caribbean and elsewhere and urge all governments to respect the principle of noninterference by one state in the internal affairs of another. "We reject most fervently even the contemplation of the use of force by a metropolitan country to overthrow the government of a small state in the Caribbean." [Text] [FL311340 Bridgetown CANA in English 1944 GMT 29 Aug 81]

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## CTV SAID TO CONTROL LARGE BUSINESS INTERESTS

Caracas RESUMEN in Spanish 9 Aug 81 pp 7-9

[Article by H. J. G.: "The Democratic Action 'Trade Unionists'--A Party Within a Party: 'Something More Than a Bank'"]

[Text] The decline of the Democratic Action, the more incredible because since the 1973 triumph (with more than 50 percent of the votes) it has managed more money than the three governments which preceded it together, has placed the party in the hands of a group which by occult and extraordinary means has amassed a vast fortune. Are they the apostles of the party? No, the so-called "trade union faction." Workers' leaders, without any workers to follow them, politicians and enterprises, control an economic power factor which is the last remaining vestige of the "Party of the People."

The Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV) can be regarded as one of the most powerful workers' organizations in the world, if not thanks to the control it exerts over the workers' movement (rather limited and politically rather than "worker" oriented influence), at least because of the large number of enterprises it has succeeded in establishing in the past 15 years, laying the foundations for an economic empire of a capitalist rather than a workers' nature, enabling it to take its place alongside traditional economic groups.

Despite the fact that all parties are represented within the CTV, it is the Democratic Action which has succeeded in controlling the Workers Confederation most effectively, and above all, the enterprises which have resulted therefrom are under the firm control of the AD trade union faction. Thanks to the decline of the AD, the trade union faction has come to be the most powerful internal power group. These are the "rich men" of the AD. It is as a function of the weight of this economic force, more than their influence as workers' leaders, that they can impose their points of view.

This is a journalistic analysis. But a more profound scientific study would lead to the dissection of one of the most repulsive aberrations of democracy, of trade unionism, and if you wish, even of capitalism, as understood and practices in this sui generis fashion by the worker-capitalist-political leaders. Until 1980, when RESUMEN undertook an exhaustive study of the matter, in "CTV--An Economic Empire Worth 450 Million Bolivares" (No 361, 5/10/80, pp 12-21), the most important Venezuelan Workers Confederation controlled a holding company of 15 enterprises with capital totaling 150 million bolivares through the CORACREVI [Housing Savings

and Loan Corporation]. Through the Workers Bank, it controlled another 25 companies which together had capital totaling 250 million. And there was yet another enterprise, the Oil Financing Corporation, with company capital of 50 million bolivares. These 42 enterprises together have capital totaling 450 million bolivares, modest if viewed from the purely economic point of view, but gigantic if one takes into account the diversification of commercial activity.

In principle, the CTV based its action theoretically on the concept of joint management by business and labor, as the principal and basic aspiration of the new organized workers' movement. "Comanagement" or "joint management" is simply participation by the worker in the decision-making process at the enterprise, be it private or state-owned.

Obviously, the ownership of some enterprises by the workers themselves who run it would be a more ambitious goal. This would not be the same as ownership of all the enterprises by the state. The former might be the more refined form of joint management. One must wonder what kind of joint management occurs when the enterprises are created by the trade unions and/or the trade union leaders, many of whom become stockholders therein at the very moment the enterprises are established, either by purchasing their stock or by contributing capital for the formation of the companies.

In any case, the result is a group of worker-bureaucrats, members of the boards of capitalist enterprises, with workers who are treated the same and/or worse than the employees of companies whose owners are capitalist stockholders.

We ask again, would a more serious and profound study of this "Democratic Action" style of capitalist socialism or workers' capitalism yield as a result functional and productive organized enterprises in which the workers enjoy better conditions, better wages? From all appearances the answer is no. Corruption, waste, and poor management seem to be the general trends. More or less mitigated scandals with the BANTRAB, negotiations such as those with the BTV, very difficult to term successful, and many other cases seem to indicate that the enterprises of the worker-businessmen have all the vices of capitalism and few of its virtues.

#### The CTV Enterprises

The CTV is active in a wide range of economic and industrial activities through three great financial centers: the Housing Savings and Loan Corporation (CORACREVI), established at a general meeting of the CTV on 2/9/65 as a "nonprofit civil company," and its two derivatives, the Venezuelan Workers Bank (BTV), registered 3 years later, on 14/3/68, and the Oil Financing Corporation, C. A. (COFIPECA), registered 9 years later, on 5/2/74.

Through the CORACREVI, the CTV succeeded in creation 13 enterprises in addition to the BTV and the COFIPECA in 15 years, providing jobs and creating economic power, with capital totaling more than 150 million bolivares, in activities including construction, industry, services, urban development, sales and real estate management, navigation enterprises and others.

As of October 1980, the following enterprises were known to belong to the CORACREVI holding company:

Coramatic, C. A. Registered and recorded by German Manzo Gonzalez on 23/3/71 with company capital of 100,000 bolivares, for the purpose of operating dry cleaners and laundries. Augusto Malave Villalba underwrote stocks worth 99,000 bolivares in the name of CORACREVI, making an initial contribution of 46,000 bolivares in washing, drying, water heating and other machinery.

La Candelaria Industrial Park, C. A. Registered on 28/8/74 with a million bolivares in underwritten and paid-up stocks. Original participants in the enterprise included Ignacio Andrade Arcaya, Tony A. Lovera, T. E. Carrillo Batalla and Andres Galdo. On 8/2/80 the board of directors changed to include Sergio Leon Morales, as president, Juan Herrera, president of CORACREVI, and Pedro Jose Lander, the director of Pubrel, C. A.

Margarita Tourism, C. A. Registered on 1/9/75 with company capital totaling 2.625 million bolivares, its purpose is the operation of a maritime passenger transportation business.

Fifteen-Forty Housing, C. A. (Viquicua). Registered on 10/12/76 with company capital of 100,000 bolivares, its purpose was the construction of urban developments and subdivisions. Eleazar Pinto signed on behalf of the CORACREVI, and Juan Herrera purchased 1,000 bolivares worth of stock in its name.

Venezuelan Tinderboxes, C. A. (YESVENCA). Registered on 29/9/77 with 2,24 million bolivares in capital, its purpose was the manufacture of tinderboxes. Juan Herrera purchased type A stocks worth 1.568 million bolivares on behalf of CORACREVI, and Alfonso Ferretti, as managing director, purchased type B stocks worth 672,000 bolivares.

El Encantado Residential Park, C. A. Registered on 5/12/77 with company capital of 40 million bolivares, its purpose was the subdivision and development of a housing complex in El Carpintero, Petare. Juan Herrera purchased stocks worth 25 million bolivares on behalf of CORACREVI, and Eleazar Pinto purchased stocks worth 25 million bolivares on behalf of Bantrab Investments. CORACREVI contributed lots it owned in Jardines la Suiza to the company for the building of the complex.

Createrol, C. A. Registered on 17/1/78 for the purpose of engaging in advertising, radio, film and television programming, market planning and other related activities with the Hermes Advertising firm. Jesus Graterol Sandander ("Graterolacho") is its president, holding 75,000 bolivares in stocks. CORACREVI purchased 100,000 bolivares worth of stocks and Bantrab purchased the balance for 75,000 bolivares. Later, the company capital was increased to 1.35 million bolivares, with stocks distributed as follows: CORACREVI purchased stocks worth 550,000 bolivares; Bantrab Investments purchased stocks worth 405,000 bolivares; and Graterol purchased stocks also worth 405,000 bolivares. On 31/12/79, this enterprise declared capital totaling 15,663,288.25 bolivares, and accounts receivable totaling 14,500,454.23 bolivares.

Caribbean Plot, C. A. (PADELCA). Registered on 7/3/78 with company capital totaling 3.472 million bolivares, the purpose of this company is the leasing of real property for the docking, anchoring, dispatching and maintenance of ships. On behalf of CORACREVI, Juan Herrera contributed a plot of land it owned located in the El Morro tourist complex, Sotillo District, state of Anzoategui.



Venezuelan Maritime Freight Corporation (COMARVENCA). Registered on 7/7/78 with company capital totaling 3.66 million bolivares, its purpose is the loading and unloading of vessels anchored on the high seas, the transportation of freight to the port dock and warehouse facilities. Juan Herrera, on behalf of CORACREVI, bought stocks worth 3.659 million bolivares, and one in his own name worth 1,000 bolivares. The CORACREVI contributed two ferryboats with a total value of 3.66 million bolivares at the time of the establishment of the enterprise.

South-Twenty-five Tower, C. A. Registered on 8/3/78 with company capital totaling 3.69 million bolivares, this company drafts studies and plans and builds, subdivides, rents and sells housing properties. Juan Herrera, as acting president of CORACREVI, purchased stocks worth 3.680 million bolivares and stock worth 1,000 bolivares in his own name. The CORACREVI contributed 2,626.67 square meters of land in La Candelaria.

Corpoban, S. A. Registered on 15/6/78 with capital totaling 30 million bolivares, its purpose is to buy, sell, trade and promote real and chattel properties, and to build housing and urban developments and manage real estate. As acting president of the CORACREVI, Juan Herrera purchased stocks worth 15 million, while Eleazar Pinto, president of Bantrab Investments, purchased stocks worth 15 million on its behalf. When the enterprise was established, the CORACREVI contributed 23.33 percent of the housing production units which it owned, with a capacity for the production of 10 housing units per day, using a design patented by the French SUPAE firm, the price of which totals 38,800,707.72 bolivares.

Integral Recreation, S. A. (RECREINTESA). Registered on 15/9/78 with capital totaling 2.5 million, its purpose is to promote, plan, build and manage tourist, vacation and recreational facilities. Lino Morales, acting for the INCRET [Workers Training and Recreation Institute] purchased stocks worth 500,000 bolivares. The Workers Bank purchased stocks worth 1 million, and CORACREVI purchased stocks worth 1 million. The INCRET contribution was a building located in the Barlovento urban development, Rio Chico, state of Miranda, in the Guaiqueri recreational settlement, and 16 housing units under construction.

Housing Administration, C. A. Registered on 18/8/79 with capital totaling 500,000 bolivares, the purpose of this business is to engage in real and other property transactions, urban development, brokerage, subdivision and loan operations. As acting president of CORACREVI, Juan Herrera purchased stocks worth 100,000 bolivares, and Eleazar Pinto purchased stocks worth 50,000 bolivares on behalf of Bantrab and stocks worth 350,000 bolivares on behalf of the Valle Arriba in Charallave.

Machine and Engine Parts Construction (COMAPASA). This company was registered with capital totaling 1.8 million bolivares for the purpose of engaging in the construction of special electromechanical machinery, the design, repair, installation, sales and production of engine parts and dies, and the rebuilding of heavy machinery. As acting president of CORACREVI, Juan Herrera purchased stocks worth 1.799 million bolivares, and stocks worth 1,000 bolivares in his own name. CORACREVI contributed a vast inventory of almost 100 machines and other equipment such as lathes, cutting and grinding machines, platforms, drills, milling machines, hydraulic presses, electric kilns and compressors.

La Tumerena Development, C. A. Registered on 29/11/78 with company capital totaling 53 million bolivares, its purpose is the urban development of plot of land in the Pitahaya sector of the municipality of Charallave, formerly the El Zamuro estate, in the Urdaneta district of the state of Miranda, including the distribution of housing of social interest, and projects, studies and all other aspects related to construction. Juan Herrera, as acting president of the CORACREVI, purchased stocks worth 52.999 million bolivares, along with stocks worth 1,000 bolivares in his own name. The CORACREVI contributed 3 plots of land totaling 269 hectares at the site now known as La Tumerena, formerly known as El Zamuro.

Apart from these enterprises, the Workers Bank controls these others:

Bantrab Investments, with company capital totaling 5 million bolivares, for the purpose of the purchase, sale and management of real estate. Its offshoots include three other enterprises designed to support the development of the mother company.

Bantrab Promotion, registered on 30/3/76, with capital totaling 500,000 bolivares, for the purpose of leasing, purchasing, selling and promoting housing.

Bantrab Administration, registered on that same date with capital totaling 500,000 bolivares, with the purpose of managing real estate.

Bantrab Computers, registered on 26/4/76, with capital totaling 5 million bolivares, for the purpose of engaging in computer transactions.

In addition, in the record time of 28 days, Bantrab Investments registered 20 enterprises between 20/9/77 and 18/10/77 (Bantrab-1 through Bantrab-20), each with a capital of 100,000 bolivares, for the purpose of purchasing, selling, managing and developing real and other property. The immediate goal is the housing development of the areas near the Caracas Metro, in which activities Bantrab is affiliated with contractor Enrique Delfino for the implementation of these programs.

There remains, finally, the Oil Financing Corporation (COFIPECA), an enterprise registered on 5/2/74 with company capital totaling 10 million bolivares, for the purpose of engaging in financial activities. At the beginning it was thought that the COFIPECA would focus on the granting of loans and financing to the smaller enterprises in small and average industry, as well as other sectors requiring financial support. Its paid-up capital totals 20 million bolivares.

Apparently, the Venezuelan trade unionists have learned a lesson from businessmen and have decided to place as many enterprises as can be controlled financially in the hands of the trade union movement. It remains to see what benefits are yielded by these enterprises to the ordinary worker, the man who has put the labor leaders in the positions they occupy today, and who with his humble dues gives strength and force to the workers' organizations. Time will tell if so much sacrifice was worth his while.



[Explanation of chart: With the central caption "Capitalists' or Workers' Trade Unionism?" chart shows key figures in CTV-controlled enterprises at top and bottom, and arrows indicate chain of command linking corporations and companies identified and described in the article.]

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